DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 376 230 UD 029 934

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|---|---|
| TITLE | Taking America's Pulse: A Summary Report of the National Conference Survey on Inter-Group Relations. |
| INSTITUTION | National Conference of Christians and Jews, New York, N.Y. |
| PUB DATE | [92] |
| NOTE | 70p.; Some pages contain filled-in type and may not reproduce well. |
| PUB TYPE | Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142) |
| EDRS PRICE | MF01/PC03 Plus Postage. |
| DESCRIPTORS | *Attitudes; *Bias; Cultural Interrelationships; Ethnic Groups; Intergroup Education; *Intergroup Relations; Minority Groups; National Surveys; Power Structure; *Racial Relations; Sex Differences; Social Discrimination; *Social Integration; *Stereotypes; Whites |
| IDENTIFIERS | *Tolerance |

ABSTRACT

The National Conference of Christians and Jews commissioned pollster Louis Harris to conduct a nationwide survey to determine how America's most populous and fastest growing ethnic, racial, and religious groups perceive one another, the opportunities available to them, and the problems they share. In telephone interviews nearly 3,000 people were surveyed. The study showed that different minority groups harbor strong negative prejudices toward one another but are united in their bitter feelings toward whites and share a sense of collective discrimination. White Americans dispute the premises on which much of the bitterness is based: the conviction that minority groups do not get a fair chance to succeed. Some hopeful findings emerged. Despite the ugly stereotypes that mar the national landscape, overwhelming majorities of each group express a willingness to work with other groups to deal with pressing community issues like education, childcare, and violence. Most survey respondents endorse integration as a desirable goal, and many positive interactions are reported across intergroup boundaries. The challenge for America's leaders is to transform readiness to work together into action. Appendix A summarizes differences by region and by sex. Appendix B provides 18 tables and 19 graphs of supporting data. (SLD)

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# THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

# *Taking America's Pulse*

## A Summary Report of The National Conference Survey On Inter-Group Relations

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*The National Conference pledges to continue the fight against bias, bigotry and racism in America it has been waging since its founding in 1927. As the nation's honest broker in inter-group relations, beholden to no one group and accountable to all, The National Conference works through 61 regions in 32 states and the District of Columbia, promoting understanding and respect among all races, religions and cultures through advocacy, conflict resolution and education. The success of its public education efforts in the nation's schools, communities, workplaces and congregations demonstrates that is its indeed possible to change behavior, transform attitudes, and find common ground.*

*In creative partnerships with other organizations and agencies who share this conviction in communities across the country, The National Conference pursues its continuing endeavor to make the reality of America match the dream of America, and so revitalize faith in the promise of democracy.*

*America pledges itself to be "One Nation", and it is the mission of The National Conference to point the way to the realization of that goal. Utilizing research, communication, leadership training and public education programs, it focuses the country's attention on these critical matters, led by the hundreds of professional staff and volunteers whose expertise, dedication and deep roots in the communities they serve are its most important assets.*

*The National Conference*
*of Christians and Jews*
71 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10003
TEL 212 206-0006
FAX 212 255-6177

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE

# *Taking America's Pulse*

## The National Conference Survey On Inter-Group Relations

### INTRODUCTION.

At a time when relationships between America's ethnic, racial and religious groups are often frayed and sometimes violent, respect for human diversity and the unity required to solve America's problems have become necessities, not merely civic ideals.

To help America meet these daunting challenges, The National Conference commissioned veteran pollster Louis Harris to conduct a nationwide survey in order to determine how America's most populous and/or fastest-growing ethnic, racial and religious groups perceive each other, the opportunities available to them, and the problems they share.

Surveying nearly 3,000 people nationwide, the poll used responses to common ethnic, racial and religious stereotypes as the basis for an in-depth look at how whites and people of color see each other. It also broke new ground by probing attitudes towards Asian Americans and Muslims in the United States, two rapidly-growing groups that are usually omitted from gauges of ethnic, racial and religious tolerance.

In telephone interviews lasting an average of 28 minutes, subjects were asked to respond to a number of positive and negative attributes commonly ascribed to African Americans, Latino Americans, Asian Americans, Muslims, Jews, Catholics, and whites.

Subjects were also asked to assess whether the various groups had access to economic, educational and vocational opportunities on a par with whites, and whether they received equal treatment from the justice system and the media. Finally, they were asked to evaluate the opportunities available to themselves and their own families.

Much of this report is disquieting. America is revealed to be a divided nation. The study shows that different minority groups harbor strong negative prejudices towards each other.

*The National Conference of Christians and Jews, founded in 1927, is a human relations organization dedicated to fighting bias, bigotry and racism in America. The National Conference promotes understanding and respect among all races, religions and cultures through advocacy, conflict resolution and education.*

Yet they are united in their bitter feelings towards whites. Meanwhile, white Americans dispute the premise upon which much of that bitterness is based: the conviction that minority groups do not get a fair chance to succeed.

On the other hand, there are also many hopeful findings about inter-group attitudes and the premises that unite us. Despite the ugly stereotypes that scar the American landscape, the study reveals that overwhelming majorities of each group express a willingness to work with other groups to deal with pressing community issues like education, child care, and violence.

## WHITES AND PEOPLE OF COLOR ARE POLES APART ON THE AMERICAN DREAM.

*Taking America's Pulse* documents the existence of a yawning gulf between white and minority group perceptions about America.

Perhaps the most striking finding is the decidedly negative view of white Americans shared by a majority of African Americans, Latino Americans and Asian Americans. White people are perceived as bigoted, bossy and unwilling to share power and wealth. Each minority group believes it is discriminated against by a white-controlled economy and educational system, and that other groups also suffer from discrimination and serious inequities.

Yet white America's vision of how minorities are faring is much more positive, diverging widely from the assessment of people of color about their own prospects. (For the purpose of this report, "people of color" are defined as African Americans, Latino Americans, and Asian Americans.) It is as if most whites are sleepwalking, either unaware of the hard reality of discrimination or blind to its tangible impact in the daily lives of minorities.

## PEOPLE OF COLOR AGREE: WHITE AMERICANS ARE BIGOTED, BOSSY AND UNWILLING TO SHARE POWER.

In most previous studies of race and ethnicity in America, the attitudes of whites toward minorities have been surveyed in depth, but the attitudes of minorities toward whites have not been assayed on a national basis. *Taking America's Pulse* attempted to plow new ground by asking people of color whether they agreed or disagreed with the assertions that white people:

- ✓ **"Are insensitive to other people and have a long history of bigotry and prejudice."** This assertion wins assent from 66% of all minorities surveyed, including 76% of African Americans, 56% of Latino Americans and 54% of Asian Americans.
- ✓ **"Believe they are superior and can boss other people around."** An almost identical 65% majority of people of color concurs, including African Americans at 79%, and Latino Americans at 52%. Asian Americans are closely split on the question—45% agree and 48% do not.
- ✓ **"Control power and wealth in America and do not want to share it with nonwhites."** A 61% majority of people of color supports this statement, including 76% of African Americans and 52% of Latino Americans. Even minority

Republicans, who might be expected to feel more positively about their access to power and wealth, support this charge with a 48% plurality, as do those who voted for Perot (57%) and minority group members with postgraduate degrees (55%). Asian Americans, however, reject this view by a sizable 66% majority. [1]

✓ **"Founded the most democratic society on the face of the earth."** This assertion, accepted as a truism by whites, receives only tepid agreement: only 53% of people of color agree. Latino Americans are more willing to go along with this claim (62%), but only 49% of African Americans agree, and an even fewer 46% of Asian Americans concur.

## AMERICA'S PEOPLE OF COLOR ARE UNITED BY A COLLECTIVE SENSE OF DISCRIMINATION.

The negative assessments of white America by people of color are clearly related to their general perception that they lack opportunities equal to those of whites.

✓ **A resounding 80% of African Americans feel that they lack the same opportunities enjoyed by whites.** They are most critical of the treatment accorded them by the police, their chances of obtaining equal justice under the law, their chances of getting promoted to managerial jobs, getting credit loans and mortgages, and the way they are portrayed by the media. These complaints are most strongly voiced by the African American middle class (86%), but a formidable 77% of working class blacks clearly agrees.

✓ **Similarly, 60% of Latino Americans feel that they do not have equal opportunities to whites.** Their grievances focus mostly on the treatment Latino Americans receive from the police, their chance of getting equal pay for the same work, their opportunities for promotion into managerial jobs, and their portrayal by the media.

✓ **Even among Asian Americans, whose responses in other parts of the survey are most consistently aligned with those of whites, 57% are convinced their opportunities are not equal to those enjoyed by whites.** They are most sharply critical of their lack of opportunity to receive managerial promotions, the same pay for the same work, and fair, unbiased treatment by the police and the media.

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[1] Here and at other points in the survey, Asian American responses suggest that they feel more commonalty with whites and less disinfranchisement than the other minority groups surveyed. For example, measured against a 5-part "alienation scale" used by Louis Harris since 1968, Asian Americans, along with whites, experience the lowest alienation from the power structure. Asian Americans also identify whites as the group "they have most in common with," and their responses indicate that they feel less discrimination than other groups polled.

Equally significant is the finding that America's three most populous minorities share a sense of collective discrimination. Each group surveyed expressed the conviction that other groups are being similarly shortchanged by American society:

- ✓ **A clear majority of African Americans (68%) are convinced that Latino Americans do not get equal opportunities to whites,** and 51% hold that Asian Americans are denied equal opportunities as well.
- ✓ **Latino Americans are similarly convinced that African Americans lack equal opportunities (57%)**, and 47% believe Asian Americans do not get an equal chance, either.
- ✓ **Asian Americans also believe that Latino Americans are denied equal opportunity** (68%), and 61% believe that the same is true of African Americans.

These observations become even more significant when viewed alongside the attitudes of the white majority. Whites and people of color are divided by a vast perceptual gap, as evidenced by the data detailed below.

## WHITES BELIEVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES ABOUND.

Despite all the statistics in the media about the persistent reality of discrimination that confronts millions of people of color, most white people in America believe that African Americans, Asian Americans and Latino Americans have opportunities that are equal to those of whites:

- ✓ **A 69% majority of all whites believe African Americans are given an equal opportunity to quality education;** 63% feel blacks have equal opportunities to obtain skilled jobs; 56% believe blacks have an equal opportunity to get decent housing where they want; and 51% feel that blacks have an equal chance to get credit loans and mortgages. In fact, whites acknowledge only two specific areas in which African Americans are denied equal treatment—in the media and by police—and that just barely, at 45% and 49% respectively.
- ✓ **On the whole, whites also say Latino Americans have opportunities that are equal to theirs**—equal access to a quality education (65%), an equal chance to get skilled labor jobs (57%), equal opportunity to obtain decent housing where they want (55%), equal justice under the law (55%), and equal pay for the same work (54%).
- ✓ **Similarly, 74% of white Americans think that Asian Americans get equal opportunities for a quality education**, 63% an equal chance to get skilled jobs; 62% to obtain decent housing where they want, 59% the same pay for the same work, and 57% see Asian Americans as having the same chance as whites to receive equal justice under the law.

Thus, whites and people of color appear to have polar views of the American dream. To be sure, most whites allow that some racial and ethnic discrimination exists, though not across the board: 62% say that African Americans "really suffer from discrimination"; 51% are willing to say the same about Latino Americans, and 35% about Asian Americans.

Yet the poll indicates **most whites simply do not acknowledge the tangible effects that discrimination has on the daily lives of minorities**, and the manner in which the access of people of color to everything from mortgages to quality education is blocked.

## PREJUDICE KNOWS NO COLOR.

Even as the poll offers evidence of the continued existence of white prejudice towards minority groups, the study also documents for the first time the extent to which America's largest and/or fastest growing minority groups harbor strong negative prejudices towards each other.

Indeed, despite their shared sense of victimization by whites, **the truth is that minorities are more likely than whites to agree to negative stereotypes about other minority groups**. It appears as if the more diversity and burgeoning minority groups there are present in American society, the more prejudices we must overcome.

Consider the following responses:

### Asian Americans

- ✓ **Are "unscrupulous, crafty and devious in business."** A 46% plurality of Latino Americans and a 42% plurality of African Americans agree, while 27% of whites concur. [2]
- ✓ **Are "wary, suspicious and unfriendly towards non-Asians."** Identical pluralities of 44% of Latino Americans and African Americans concur. Again, this negative stereotype is rejected by a 51% to 30% majority of whites.
- ✓ **"Believe they are superior to people of other groups and cultures."** A 42% plurality of African Americans agrees with this, as does a 42% plurality of Latino Americans and 29% of whites.

### Latino Americans

- ✓ **"Tend to have bigger families than they are able to support."** A 68% majority of Asian Americans and a 49% plurality of African Americans agrees, while 50% of whites support this.
- ✓ **"Lack ambition and the drive to succeed."** This is agreed to by 35% of Asian Americans, 24% of African Americans, and 20% of whites.

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[2]The extent of group prejudice could be considered pernicious even when less than a majority of a particular group agrees with a negative stereotype. For example, if, as the study found, 42% of the country's 22 million African Americans adults believe that Asian American business people are "unscrupulous and crafty," it may indicate as many as 9.2 million African Americans share this attitude.

## African Americans

- ✓ **"Want to live on welfare."** This is supported by 31% of Asian Americans, 26% of Latino Americans, and 21% of white Americans.
- ✓ **"Even if given a chance, aren't capable of getting ahead."** 33% of Latino Americans, 22% of Asian Americans, and 12% of whites support this notion.
- ✓ **"Have less family unity."** This is supported by 48% of Asian Americans, 40% of white Americans and 33% of Latino Americans.

## Jews

- ✓ **"When it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money."** A 54% majority of African Americans agrees, while 43% of Latino Americans, 35% of Asian Americans and 27% of non-Jewish whites also support this assertion.
- ✓ **"Have too much control over business and the media."** A 43% plurality of African Americans agrees, and the statement is supported by 37% of Latino Americans, 35% of Asian Americans and 22% of non-Jewish whites.
- ✓ **"Are too preoccupied with their history of persecution, such as the Holocaust."** Nationwide, 49% of Latino Americans, 45% of African Americans, 44% of Asian Americans and 31% of non-Jewish whites subscribe to this belief.
- ✓ **"Are more loyal to Israel than to America."** A plurality of 47% of African Americans harbors this suspicion, along with 44% of Latino Americans, 35% of Asian Americans, and 24% of non-Jewish whites.

## Muslims

- ✓ **"Belong to a religion that condones or supports terrorism."** This is supported by a 48% plurality of Latino Americans, 41% of whites, 39% of African Americans, and 30% of Asian Americans.
- ✓ **Are "anti-Western and anti-American."** A 53% majority of Latino Americans says yes. Pluralities of 45% of whites and 44% of Asian Americans and African Americans also agree.
- ✓ **"Segregate and suppress women."** This view is supported by 76% of Asian Americans, 65% of whites, 56% of Latino Americans, and 52% of African Americans.

## Catholics

- ✓ **Are "narrow-minded because they are too controlled by their church."** This notion is endorsed by a 58% majority of non-Catholic Latino Americans, a 57% majority of Asian Americans, and a 49% plurality of African Americans. A minority of 34% of white non-Catholics agrees.

✓ **"Want to impose their own ideas of morality on the larger society."** Majorities of 74% of Asian Americans, 67% of non-Catholic Latino Americans, 62% of African Americans and 52% of non-Catholic whites concur.

## YET THERE IS ALSO WIDESPREAD CROSS-CULTURAL RESPECT.

To be sure, there is also good news about inter-group attitudes. Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with statements reflecting positive and respectful attitudes towards other groups. Despite the negative stereotypes, the poll also shows that America's diverse groups are able to see the humanity in each other and acknowledge the valuable contributions that other groups make to the larger society.

Consider the following:

✓ **More than 80% of those polled admire Asian Americans for "placing a high value on intellectual and professional achievement,"** and for "having strong family ties, and honoring and respecting their elders."

✓ **Majorities in each group, ranging up to eight out of ten, agree that Latino Americans "take great pride in their culture,"** "work hard to achieve a better life," and "have deep religious and family ties."

A significant plurality of those surveyed reject the assertion that Latino Americans "are highly emotional and are apt to lose their tempers." The number who believe this charge has declined to 29% from the 39% who agreed with it in a 1978 Harris survey conducted for The National Conference, and 48% now reject it.

✓ **Sizeable majorities of up to 80% believe African Americans "have made valuable contributions to American society,"** "will work hard when given a chance," "believe strongly in American ideals and the American dream," and are "deeply religious."

One negative stereotype was decisively rejected by eight out of ten non-African Americans: the notion that African Americans "have less native intelligence." This is supported by 12% of non-black respondents, far below the 25% who agreed with it in 1978. In addition, the percentage of non-blacks who believe that African Americans "want to live on welfare" has decreased from the 36% reported in a 1966 Harris poll to 22% today.

✓ **Jews are given credit by majorities ranging from six to eight in ten for a number of positive attributes.** Non-Jews believe Jews "place a high value on education and achievement," "have enriched public and intellectual life in this country," and "are charitable and supportive of social justice for others."

✓ **Up to three out of four non-Muslims believe that Muslims "take pride in their cultural and religious heritage,"** "are a deeply religious people who follow a strict code of personal behavior," and "are strongly committed to the welfare of their own people and communities."

✓ **Positive attributes about Catholics are subscribed to by up to seven out of ten non-Catholics,** who believe they "have made significant contributions to American life," "are compassionate and generous to the poor and disadvantaged," and "are very devout."

While a substantial 38% minority of non-Catholics believes the negative stereotype that Catholics "are narrow-minded because they are too controlled by their church," It should be noted that the percentage of Americans who feel this way has dropped from 48% to 38% over the past 15 years.

In addition to this evidence of cross-cultural appreciation, other hopeful notes about inter-group relationships and attitudes can be found in this survey.

## INTEGRATION IS STILL A GOAL.

Residential segregation remains a basic fact of life in a country where more than 80% of white Americans live in suburbs with a nonwhite population of less than 3%, a fact which may help account for the perceptual gap between whites and people of color.

Nevertheless, when asked bluntly "Do you favor full racial integration, integration in some areas of life, or separation of the races," Americans by and large favor "full integration" (at 68%), with another 17% favoring "integration in some areas." Only 7% nationwide would rather see "separation of the races." Whites support full integration by an overpowering 66% majority, as do 71% of African Americans, 72% of Latino Americans, and a compelling 85% of Asian Americans.

## INTER-GROUP BOUNDARIES ARE FREQUENTLY CROSSED.

Furthermore, there is evidence that Americans are not simply giving lip service to the concept of integration but are experiencing positive interactions across racial and ethnic lines. For example, one of the most persistently reported points of contact between people of different groups is "as a good friend."

✓ **A resounding majority of 73% of whites say that they have " a good friend" among African Americans**, while 78% of African Americans say the same thing about whites.

✓ **A majority of 60% of whites report that they have " a good friend" among Latino Americans** (79% return the compliment).

✓ **50% of whites place Asian Americans in this category**, and 89% of Asian Americans do the same for whites.

In addition, minorities also report having good friends among members of other minority groups. While the survey did not define what constitutes being "a good friend", and respondents may have understood it dirrerntly, the term connotes a positive relationship more substantial than just working together, or living in the same neighborhood or shopping in the same store.

## CULTURAL DIVERSITY IS ENDORSED.

On the whole, the data suggest that cultural diversity is hardly a foreign or unfamiliar concept in contemporary American society. Asked "How important do you think it is that people from different groups learn to understand and appreciate the lifestyles, tastes, and contributions of each other's groups?", 67% of those surveyed nationwide said such understanding and appreciation is "very important," while another 25% feel it is "important." Across the board, roughly nine in ten people in all of the diverse groups surveyed endorse this concept, including 91% of whites.

As a counterpart question, survey participants were also asked about the desirability of "teaching all students about the racial, ethnic, and cultural groups that make up America today." A substantial 57% say they find it "very desirable" and another 31% "somewhat desirable," while only 9% deem such education "undesirable," adding up to an 88% mandate from the adult public. Again, roughly 9 in 10 respondents endorse the teaching of cultural diversity in the nation's schools.

These results indicate that whatever negative perceptions groups have about each other, many of the prerequisites of tolerance and inter-group cooperation are present in today's America: respect for the differences among us and a commitment to increased understanding of those differences.

## THE IDEA OF "TWO AMERICAS" IS DECISIVELY REJECTED.

Of course, believing that other groups have admirable traits and that it is important to understand other cultures is one thing: a readiness to take the steps necessary to build a fairer, more equitable society is quite another.

*Taking America's Pulse* probed the degree to which Americans are dissatisfied with current racial inequities. A 61% majority of all the diverse groups surveyed agrees that "It is not right that we have two Americas—one made up of privileged white Americans and the other of people of color who are treated like second-class citizens."

Given the study's other findings, it is hardly surprising that minorities lead the way in affirming this statement: 83% of African Americans, 70% of African Americans, and 67% of Asian Americans. However, they are joined by 59% of white Americans.

There is also substantial agreement on at least one highly pragmatic reason to work towards a fairer society—enlightened self-interest. **An overwhelming 87% majority of Americans agree that "If America wants to be competitive in the world, it is in our self-interest to educate and give job training to racial minorities."** Very high majorities of 94% of African Americans, 92% of Asian Americans, 92% of Latino Americans, and 84% of whites stand together on this point.

*Taking America's Pulse* also surveyed what Americans feel are the chief obstacles to better race relations and racial and ethnic equality. **A 55% majority agrees with the statement that "Until racial minorities shape up and realize they can't get a free ride, there will be little improvement in race relations in America."** Interestingly, whites agree with this statement by the smallest majority of those surveyed (54%), while 58% of African Americans, 58% of Latino Americans and 61% of Asian Americans voiced support for this notion.

The other side of the coin, "The chief obstacle to better race relations in America is the presence of so many racist white people," sharply divides the American people. While a narrow 45%/43% plurality of the total population disagrees with this conviction, it is accepted by more than two-thirds of African Americans (68%) agree, over half of all Latino Americans (53%). Yet whites and Asian Americans reject the claim by 52% and 57% respectively. **The sobering fact is that nearly half the American populace is united in the conviction that white racism is still the primary obstacle to better race relations in this country.**

While the majority of Americans acknowledge the need to improve race relations, reject the notion of "two Americas" and accept that it is in our national self-interest to provide equal opportunities for minorities, there is clearly no consensus about whom or what is to blame for the current situation. All too often we are ready to point the finger at other groups. Given this predicament, can anything move us past our differences and into positive, cooperative action?

## ARE THE RACES PREPARED TO WORK TOGETHER?

The study explores what common ground might exist and what common will might be tapped to bring people together to address the serious challenges they face in their own communities and across the nation. Because people might be inclined to express automatic support for the notion of working together for the common good, the present study established a tough threshold to determine whether they are actually ready to cooperate with those they perceive to be different.

First, members of each group were asked which other group they felt most in common with:

- ✓ **Whites feel most in common with African Americans**, but least in common with Asian Americans.
- ✓ **African Americans feel most in common with Latinos** and least in common with whites and Asian Americans.
- ✓ **Latinos feel most in common with whites** and least with African Americans, who feel most in common with them.
- ✓ **Asian Americans feel most in common with whites** and least in common with African Americans.

Second, each individual was asked about their willingness to work together with the group they felt the least in common with. The intention was to make the choice as difficult as possible.

The results are striking: big majorities in each group say they would be willing to sit down with the people with whom they feel the least commonalty in order to solve some of the most pressing problems of their neighborhoods and communities. This willingness to work together to address our shared concerns suggests that the profound inter-group tension and hatred that is present in this diverse society need not paralyze us.

Roughly nine out of ten Americans nationwide, in virtually every group, claim they are willing to work with the group with whom they felt the least in common in order to:

- ✓ **"Protect each other's children from gangs and violence."**
- ✓ **"Help schools teach kids what they really need to learn to succeed."**
- ✓ **"Help schools teach understanding and respect about the cultural heritage of all groups."**
- ✓ **"Find solutions to ease racial, religious, and ethnic tensions."**
- ✓ **"Help start child care facilities for single parents."**
- ✓ **"Help feed, clothe and house homeless people."**

What is interesting—and heartening—about these results is that people are talking about working with groups that they do not feel close to. Equally significant is that all of the problems mentioned are local in nature, although in the aggregate they add up to significant national problems.

Obviously, when people say they are willing to do something that does not mean they will actually do it. Nevertheless, the responses to these questions show a striking receptivity to the types of projects that could bring people together on a multiracial basis, such as caring for the homeless, working for quality education, improving child care and advancing human relations within their communities.

## CONCLUSION.

The persistence of negative stereotypes and inter-group hostility implies that the further splintering of America into bickering ethnic, racial and religious camps is a very real danger. And the gap between the perceptions of whites and minorities about discrimination is equally alarming, because Americans must share some basic assumptions about this problem in order to solve it.

The poll suggests that all of the various groups that make up our country have their work cut out for them:

> **Members of the white majority must contend with the fact that they are perceived by a majority of people of color as insensitive, bossy, and reluctant to share power and wealth.** Whether these opinions are matters of fact or perception, they represent a genuine obstacle that white people must work to overcome before significant progress can be made in race relations.
>
> **People of color have their own work to do in getting beyond the negative stereotypes they appear too willing to apply to other races.**

Yet the study also indicates the prevalence of positive attitudes about America's disparate groups and general support for the value of cultural diversity. Every group in the survey agreed with the importance of learning about the lifestyles, cultures and contributions of other

groups. The National Conference believes these attitudes could be used as the basis for initiatives that could help prevent an irreparable rending of the American fabric: e.g., prejudice-reduction workshops, diversity training, and other programmatic steps targeted to all groups.

Of equal importance, the poll shows that despite the antipathy that might exist between ethnic and religious groups, it appears as if these groups are poised to come together in a new cause, one that could be rooted in every neighborhood in the land: to tackle the social ills that harm the quality of virtually every American's life.

Whether there is sufficient will and leadership available to translate this readiness into action remains to be seen.

## APPENDIX A: DIFFERENCES BY REGION & SEX.

While the study documents a major perception gap between the white majority and the three major minority communities, ethnic differences are not the only divisions uncovered. Distinct and provocative contrasts emerge when we examine the responses by region and by sex.

### The South

Responses to the questions in this poll suggest that many of the prejudices and racist views that have troubled the South in the past still linger there more strongly than in other regions, at least by a matter of degree. For example, a decisive 60% to 39% majority in the South—a full 7 points higher than the rest of the country—expects race relations to improve only when "minorities shape up and realize they can't get a free ride." By the same token, the South denies the charge that "the chief obstacle to better race relations is the presence of so many racist white people" by a 10 point margin, while the rest of the country agrees with it by a one point margin.

The study found an abiding belief in the South that African Americans do not suffer from discrimination. A 56% to 36% majority in the South region wide feels that African Americans and whites have equal opportunities, while in the rest of the country only a narrow 48% to 43% plurality feels that way. Also, negative perceptions of African Americans are more prevalent in the South. While 18% of the rest of the nation feels that African Americans "want to live off welfare," a much higher 31% of Southerners feel this way, including 38% of the whites.

However, there is also evidence that many Southerners may be ready to put the region's history of racial animosities behind them. It is noteworthy that 78% of whites in the South report having contact with an African American who is a "good friend," while 79% of African Americans say the same thing about whites. These are the largest percentages reported in any region in the nation.

An 86% to 10% majority in the South agrees with the view that "if America wants to be competitive in the world, it is in our self-interest to educate and to give job training to racial minorities." 90% of Southerners affirm the importance of "people from different groups learning to understand lifestyles, tastes, and cultural contributions of each other's group." This response is only a narrow two to four points lower than that of any of the three other regions.

### The Midwest

Contrary to its own stereotype, the Midwest is not simply a haven of moderation.

It is true that, on most results in the survey, the Midwest tends to fall in between the more conservative and racially divided South and the more pluralistic and socially progressive coastal regions. For example, the Midwest runs five points behind the East and West but four points ahead of the South on its willingness to give "a top priority, including commitment of more government money, to making sure that people of color get the opportunities to let them become part of the mainstream of American life."

However, there are disturbing signs that racial and ethnic tensions between people of color and whites are significantly greater in the Midwest than in other parts of the North. Minority acceptance of three negative stereotypes about whites—insensitivity to people of color, belief in white superiority, and unwillingness to share America's power and wealth with non-whites—is 69%, or 8 percentage points higher for minorities in the Midwest compared to 61% of minorities in the East and West.

And the perception gap between whites and minorities regarding equal opportunity is also wider in the Midwest than elsewhere in the North. Lower percentages of minorities in the Midwest than elsewhere feel that people of color have opportunities equal to those of whites, while Midwestern whites are more likely than their counterparts in the East and West to believe that minorities receive equal protection from the police, equal justice under the law, and equal access to a quality education.

This white perception of equal opportunity points to a complacency in the region about race issues. This conclusion is reinforced by the finding that, when asked whether it is "very urgent" for the country to "honestly face the issue of race," the Midwest voices a lower percentage of agreement than any other region, including the South.

Despite this apparent lack of sensitivity to minority issues, there is one area in which whites in the Midwest must be given credit for being more in tune with minorities than are whites in other regions: the question of equal economic opportunities. For example, while 56% in the East believe that African Americans have equal opportunity to obtain housing where they want to live, significantly fewer Midwesterners share this view (48%). Similarly, while 66% of Easterners believe that Asian Americans have equal opportunities on housing, only 56% of Midwesterners feel that way.

## The East

The survey found that, along with the West, the East is more highly sympathetic to claims that minorities suffer from widespread discrimination. The East is the only region whose residents are convinced that African Americans do not receive equal justice under the law compared to whites (49%) compared to 52% for the rest of the country overall. 52% of Easterners say that "fair and unbiased media portrayal" of African Americans is not equal to whites, higher than any other region in the county. 69% of those in the East feel that African Americans are discriminated against, while in the rest of the country a lower 61% feel that way. 55% of Easterners see Latino Americans as victims of discrimination; a lesser 50% of the rest of the country holds that view.

Easterners also acknowledge the pernicious nature of discrimination. By 65%, Easterners avow that it is "wrong to have two Americas—one made up of privileged white Americans and the other of people of color who are treated like second-class citizens," compared with a lower 60% majority for the rest of the country. Similarly, while a 45% plurality of Americans nationwide who deny that the presence of "so many racist white people" is a "major obstacle to better race relations," a 45% plurality in the East affirm that this is the case.

If the East is ahead of other regions in understanding of the plight of racial minorities however, it holds a surprisingly negative perception of Jews. For example, more people in the East feel that Jews "have too much control over business and the media" (31%) than the rest of the country (24%). In the aggregate, the survey found that 33% of Easterners hold negative views on Jews, compared with a lower 28% for the rest of the country.

On the whole, however, the East takes the lead in affirming the necessity of addressing racial issues. 72% of the white majority in the East says it is willing to give "a top priority—including government money—to make sure that racial minorities get the opportunities to become part of the mainstream of American life," while the percentage of people expressing such willingness is significantly lower in the rest of the country (66%). Among minority groups, a higher percentage in

the East (71%) are willing to "rebuild minority communities with [their] own hands in order for minority children to achieve a better chance to get truly equal opportunity."

## The West

On the whole, the study found that Americas ethnic, racial and religious groups express greater respect for each other in the West than they do in the rest of the nation.

For example, 58% of people of color in the West agree that whites "have learned to live side by side with people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds," bettering the national average by seven points. In the East, only 43% affirm the statement, along with 46% in the Midwest and 50% in the South. While on a national basis 65% of minorities complain that whites "believe they are superior and can boss other people around," in the West only 56% feel that way.

People in the West tend to ascribe positive attributes to minority groups more than the rest of the nation by a spread ranging from two to twelve points. Furthermore, Westerners are consistently more likely than the average American to say that minorities are denied equal opportunities for such things as fair treatment by the police, equal justice, credit loans and mortgages, and unbiased media portrayal.

This greater than average appreciation of other groups might be seen as the product of enlightened self-interest. More than in any other region—90% of those in the West, compared to 86% in the rest of the country—are committed to the proposition that "if America wants to be competitive in the world, it is in our self-interest to educate and give job training to racial minorities."

There is one ethnic group for which people in the West show particular concern: Latino Americans. This is hardly surprising. The most populous state in the West is California, where by the year 2005 the Census estimates that people of color will become a majority of the adult population. Latino Americans will be far and away the largest of all the minority groups.

In the West, only 45% feel that Latino Americans receive equal housing opportunities, compared to 54% in the rest of the country. Only 32% of Westerners believe that Latino Americans get fair treatment from the police, as opposed to 42% in the other regions. And where an average of 49% of adult Americans are convinced that Latino Americans and whites are treated equally nationwide, only 45% of Westerners agree.

## The Gender Gap

Next to the perception gap between white Americans and racial minorities, the most consistent, decisive and dramatic differences on racial attitudes exist between the sexes.

Women are much more likely than men to feel that minorities are being short changed, and much less likely to affirm ethnic, racial and religious stereotypes. In short, their empathy towards other groups is greater, and their antagonism is less.

As we have seen, the survey asked all of the respondents whether African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latino Americans have equal opportunities to whites in such key areas of life as education, housing, credit, equal pay, promotions to managerial positions, fair treatment from the police, and equal justice under the law. In every key area, women were far more likely than men to think that minorities experience discrimination.

In fact, there is a consistent 8 point gap between the sexes on questions of discrimination. Taking the aggregate of all the items, 55% of men feel that African Americans have equal opportunity to whites, compared with a lower 47% of women who feel the same. In the case of Latino Americans, 53% of the men surveyed feel that this group has equal opportunities to whites, while only 45% of the women agree. 61% of the men feel that Asian Americans have equal opportunities, compared to 53% of the women.

Men's opinions on the obstacles to improving race relations tend to be significantly harsher than women's. By 61% to 49%, men are more likely than women to believe that "until minorities shape up and realize they can't get a free ride, there will be little improvement in relations in America." By contrast, 65% of women, compared with 56% of men, think it is wrong to have "two Americas," one for privileged whites, the other for second-class minorities.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that 64% of women feel that it is "very urgent" for America to "honestly face the race issue," compared with no more than 54% of men who feel the same.

# APPENDIX B: SUPPORTING TABLES AND CHARTS

## KEY BREAKDOWNS OF STEREOTYPES OF WHITES BY RACIAL MINORITIES

**Positive**

| | Long History of High Achievement | | | Founded Most Democratic Society on Face of Earth | | | Learned to Live with All Races, Ethnic Groups, Religions | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Agree % | Dis-agree % | Not Sure % | Agree % | Dis-agree % | Not Sure % | Agree % | Dis-agree % | Not Sure % |
| **Total Nation** | **76** | **18** | **6** | **53** | **34** | **13** | **51** | **41** | **8** |
| Men | 76 | 19 | 5 | 54 | 36 | 10 | 51 | 41 | 8 |
| Women | 76 | 17 | 7 | 53 | 32 | 15 | 50 | 41 | 9 |
| 18-29 | 77 | 17 | 6 | 50 | 41 | 9 | 46 | 49 | 5 |
| 30-49 | 73 | 20 | 7 | 59 | 29 | 12 | 51 | 41 | 8 |
| 50 and over | 77 | 25 | 8 | 50 | 30 | 20 | 57 | 28 | 15 |
| Blacks | 79 | 16 | 5 | 49 | 37 | 14 | 43 | 49 | 8 |
| Latinos | 75 | 19 | 6 | 62 | 27 | 11 | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| Asians | 67 | 22 | 11 | 46 | 43 | 11 | 59 | 35 | 6 |
| Under $15,000 | 77 | 16 | 9 | 58 | 27 | 15 | 51 | 41 | 8 |
| $15,001-25,000 | 83 | 11 | 6 | 59 | 30 | 11 | 56 | 30 | 14 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 78 | 19 | 3 | 47 | 38 | 15 | 44 | 53 | 13 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 78 | 16 | 6 | 54 | 33 | 13 | 52 | 41 | 7 |
| Over $50,000 | 66 | 29 | 5 | 50 | 39 | 11 | 53 | 42 | 5 |
| High school/less | 79 | 17 | 4 | 56 | 31 | 13 | 53 | 38 | 9 |
| Some college | 70 | 21 | 9 | 46 | 41 | 13 | 43 | 52 | 5 |
| Four yr. coll. | 67 | 20 | 13 | 49 | 38 | 13 | 50 | 42 | 8 |
| Post graduate | 80 | 18 | 2 | 49 | 46 | 5 | 49 | 43 | 8 |

**Negatives**

| | Insensitive to Others, Long History of Bigotry and Prejudice | | | Believe They are Superior, Can Boss Others Around | | | Control Power, Wealth Don't Want to Share with Non-Whites | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Agree % | Dis-agree % | Not Sure % | Agree % | Dis-agree % | Not Sure % | Agree % | Dis-agree % | Not Sure % |
| **Total Nation** | **66** | **24** | **10** | **65** | **29** | **6** | **61** | **31** | **8** |
| Men | 69 | 22 | 9 | 64 | 34 | 2 | 65 | 30 | 5 |
| Women | 64 | 25 | 11 | 65 | 24 | 11 | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| 18-29 | 69 | 22 | 9 | 62 | 35 | 13 | 59 | 35 | 6 |
| 30-49 | 62 | 28 | 10 | 67 | 28 | 5 | 62 | 31 | 7 |
| 50 and over | 68 | 17 | 15 | 65 | 23 | 12 | 63 | 27 | 10 |
| Blacks | 76 | 15 | 9 | 79 | 15 | 6 | 76 | 18 | 6 |
| Latinos | 56 | 31 | 13 | 52 | 41 | 7 | 52 | 39 | 9 |
| Asians | 54 | 40 | 6 | 45 | 48 | 7 | 30 | 66 | 4 |
| Under $15,000 | 75 | 15 | 10 | 73 | 23 | 4 | 68 | 22 | 10 |
| $15,001-25,000 | 64 | 18 | 18 | 59 | 28 | 13 | 58 | 35 | 7 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 69 | 26 | 5 | 66 | 31 | 3 | 62 | 32 | 6 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 61 | 31 | 8 | 63 | 32 | 5 | 69 | 26 | 5 |
| Over $50,000 | 60 | 34 | 6 | 59 | 34 | 7 | 53 | 43 | 4 |
| High school/less | 69 | 20 | 11 | 69 | 24 | 7 | 63 | 29 | 8 |
| Some college | 65 | 25 | 10 | 57 | 36 | 7 | 63 | 30 | 7 |
| 4 Yr. college | 60 | 31 | 9 | 55 | 38 | 7 | 53 | 43 | 4 |
| Post graduate | 44 | 50 | 6 | 54 | 43 | 3 | 54 | 39 | 7 |

## PERCEPTION OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITIES COMPARED WITH WHITES BY KEY DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS

| | Equal for Blacks % | Not Equal % | Equal for Latinos % | Not Equal % | Equal for Asians % | Not Equal % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Fair Treatment by The Police** | | | | | | |
| **Total Nation** | **38** | **54** | **41** | **49** | **49** | **41** |
| Men | 41 | 52 | 45 | 46 | 54 | 35 |
| Women | 35 | 56 | 37 | 53 | 45 | 42 |
| 18-29 | 33 | 63 | 39 | 55 | 51 | 43 |
| 30-49 | 34 | 57 | 36 | 56 | 45 | 43 |
| 50 and over | 46 | 45 | 47 | 38 | 54 | 30 |
| Blacks | 10 | 81 | 29 | 72 | 41 | 48 |
| Latinos | 31 | 61 | 39 | 54 | 35 | 50 |
| Whites | 43 | 50 | 44 | 46 | 52 | 35 |
| White Catholics | 39 | 51 | 40 | 49 | 53 | 36 |
| White Protestants | 45 | 47 | 46 | 42 | 52 | 35 |
| Under $15,000 | 38 | 52 | 40 | 44 | 46 | 38 |
| $15,001-25,000 | 40 | 52 | 45 | 45 | 50 | 39 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 46 | 48 | 48 | 45 | 58 | 33 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 37 | 54 | 41 | 48 | 48 | 39 |
| Over $50,000 | 33 | 62 | 36 | 50 | 48 | 42 |
| High school or less | 41 | 50 | 44 | 46 | 50 | 38 |
| Some college | 37 | 57 | 41 | 51 | 50 | 41 |
| Four yr. coll. | 34 | 59 | 36 | 54 | 52 | 36 |
| Post graduate | 26 | 66 | 29 | 61 | 43 | 44 |
| **Equal Justice Under the Law** | | | | | | |
| **Total Nation** | **50** | **41** | **51** | **40** | **57** | **31** |
| Men | 55 | 40 | 55 | 39 | 64 | 28 |
| Women | 46 | 44 | 48 | 41 | 52 | 34 |
| 18-29 | 43 | 46 | 47 | 48 | 59 | 34 |
| 30-49 | 49 | 45 | 50 | 42 | 56 | 32 |
| 50 and over | 56 | 33 | 56 | 31 | 56 | 27 |
| Blacks | 20 | 71 | 22 | 68 | 39 | 45 |
| Latinos | 47 | 47 | 55 | 43 | 55 | 35 |
| Whites | 55 | 37 | 55 | 36 | 55 | 35 |
| White Catholics | 55 | 38 | 56 | 37 | 63 | 28 |
| White Protestants | 56 | 34 | 56 | 32 | 60 | 28 |
| Under $15,000 | 46 | 37 | 49 | 38 | 48 | 36 |
| $15,001-25,000 | 43 | 45 | 47 | 38 | 53 | 31 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 52 | 45 | 54 | 40 | 63 | 26 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 55 | 35 | 55 | 35 | 63 | 26 |
| Over $50,000 | 50 | 47 | 50 | 45 | 59 | 33 |
| High school or less | 50 | 39 | 50 | 39 | 55 | 32 |
| Some college | 49 | 45 | 52 | 42 | 59 | 32 |
| 4 Yr. college | 55 | 40 | 57 | 37 | 66 | 27 |
| Post graduate | 44 | 51 | 45 | 46 | 57 | 29 |

PERCEPTION OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITIES
COMPARED WITH WHITES BY KEY DEMOGRAPHIC GROUPS

| Fair and Unbiased Media Portrayal | Equal for Blacks % | Not Equal % | Equal for Latinos % | Not Equal % | Equal for Asians % | Not Equal % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total Nation** | **42** | **48** | **41** | **48** | **47** | **40** |
| Men | 48 | 44 | 47 | 45 | 54 | 36 |
| Women | 36 | 51 | 34 | 50 | 41 | 44 |
| 18-29 | 44 | 52 | 44 | 51 | 53 | 41 |
| 30-49 | 38 | 54 | 37 | 57 | 44 | 47 |
| 50 and over | 45 | 37 | 43 | 37 | 48 | 31 |
| Blacks | 20 | 70 | 23 | 65 | 42 | 44 |
| Latinos | 42 | 46 | 49 | 44 | 49 | 43 |
| Whites | 45 | 45 | 43 | 45 | 48 | 40 |
| White Catholics | 45 | 46 | 42 | 49 | 49 | 42 |
| White Protestants | 46 | 43 | 44 | 42 | 47 | 38 |
| Under $15,000 | 38 | 45 | 36 | 43 | 36 | 43 |
| $15,001-25,000 | 41 | 45 | 43 | 42 | 43 | 42 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 46 | 46 | 45 | 44 | 45 | 44 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 42 | 51 | 40 | 1 | 40 | 51 |
| Over $50,000 | 42 | 52 | 38 | 5 | 38 | 56 |
| High school or less | 43 | 43 | 42 | 43 | 42 | 43 |
| Some college | 43 | 52 | 44 | 49 | 50 | 41 |
| Four yr. coll. | 42 | 53 | 39 | 54 | 47 | 46 |
| Post graduate | 32 | 60 | 31 | 58 | 45 | 46 |

## NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES OF MINORITIES BY KEY GROUPS
(Asked of all but group being asked about)

| | Asian-Americans | | Latino-Americans | | African-Americans | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Crafty in Business | Unfriendly Non-Asians | Two Big Families | Lack Ambition | Like living on Welfare | Can't get Ahead on Own |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| **Total Nation** | **30** | **33** | **50** | **21** | **22** | **14** |
| Men | 35 | 37 | 50 | 20 | 21 | 14 |
| Women | 27 | 29 | 51 | 22 | 22 | 14 |
| 18-29 | 38 | 31 | 51 | 27 | 21 | 14 |
| 30-49 | 27 | 33 | 48 | 19 | 20 | 12 |
| 50 and over | 31 | 28 | 52 | 21 | 24 | 18 |
| Blacks | 41 | 44 | 49 | 24 | XX | XX |
| Latinos | 46 | 44 | XX | XX | 26 | 33 |
| Asians | XX | XX | 68 | 35 | 31 | 21 |
| Whites | 27 | 30 | 50 | 20 | 21 | 12 |
| White Cath. | 27 | 33 | 47 | 19 | 19 | 12 |
| White Prot. | 28 | 29 | 50 | 22 | 22 | 12 |
| Under $15,000 | 34 | 31 | 50 | 26 | 28 | 22 |
| $15,001-25,000 | 38 | 35 | 53 | 25 | 24 | 18 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 36 | 24 | 53 | 20 | 23 | 11 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 21 | 31 | 49 | 14 | 20 | 13 |
| Over $50,000 | 26 | 32 | 49 | 20 | 16 | 10 |
| High school/less | 40 | 33 | 56 | 27 | 27 | 19 |
| Some college | 23 | 34 | 46 | 15 | 16 | 9 |
| Four yr. coll. | 16 | 28 | 43 | 15 | 18 | 10 |
| Post graduate | 11 | 23 | 39 | 12 | 12 | 9 |

| | Jews | | Muslims | | Catholics | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Will Choose Money Over People | Too much Control Bus/Media | Religion Condones Terrorism | Anti-American | Church Makes Narrow-Minded | Want to Impose Morality on Others |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| **Total Nation** | **31** | **26** | **46** | **45** | **38** | **55** |
| Men | 33 | 28 | 41 | 49 | 39 | 55 |
| Women | 30 | 24 | 41 | 42 | 39 | 55 |
| 18-29 | 31 | 18 | 40 | 42 | 47 | 66 |
| 30-49 | 28 | 24 | 43 | 45 | 37 | 54 |
| 50 and over | 37 | 34 | 40 | 46 | 35 | 49 |
| Blacks | 54 | 43 | 39 | 44 | 49 | 62 |
| Latino | 43 | 37 | 48 | 53 | 58 | 67 |
| Asian | 34 | 35 | 30 | 44 | 57 | 74 |
| Whites | 27 | 22 | 41 | 45 | 34 | 52 |
| White Cath. | 25 | 20 | 43 | 46 | XX | XX |
| White Prot. | 28 | 22 | 41 | 46 | 32 | 50 |
| Under $15,000 | 42 | 31 | 42 | 40 | 40 | 49 |
| $15,001-25,000 | 35 | 22 | 45 | 48 | 42 | 56 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 29 | 23 | 42 | 44 | 42 | 59 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 33 | 27 | 37 | 41 | 43 | 56 |
| Over $50,000 | 25 | 24 | 42 | 50 | 31 | 54 |
| High sch./less | 41 | 30 | 43 | 46 | 43 | 56 |
| Some college | 20 | 22 | 44 | 51 | 36 | 56 |
| 4 Yr. college | 20 | 18 | 38 | 42 | 30 | 53 |
| Post graduate | 14 | 19 | 32 | 36 | 23 | 50 |

## POSITIVE STEREOTYPES OF MINORITIES

(Asked of all but minority asked about)

| | Asian-Americans | | Latino-Americans | | | African-Americans |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Value Real Achievement | Strong Family Ties | Pride In Own Culture | Work Hard | Deep Family Ties | Less Native Intelligence |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total Nation | 81 | 86 | 81 | 73 | 71 | 12 |
| Men | 83 | 86 | 83 | 75 | 72 | 14 |
| Women | 79 | 85 | 80 | 71 | 70 | 11 |
| 18-29 | 82 | 88 | 82 | 76 | 69 | 11 |
| 30-49 | 84 | 86 | 84 | 72 | 71 | 10 |
| 50 and over | 76 | 84 | 77 | 73 | 70 | 17 |
| Blacks | 75 | 83 | 79 | 76 | 66 | XX |
| Latinos | 78 | 73 | XX | XX | XX | 16 |
| Asians | XX | XX | 83 | 80 | 77 | 10 |
| Whites | 82 | 88 | 82 | 73 | 71 | 12 |
| White Cath. | 85 | 91 | 90 | 74 | 76 | 11 |
| White Prot. | 81 | 87 | 76 | 70 | 68 | 13 |
| Under $15,000 | 70 | 77 | 74 | 66 | 63 | 18 |
| $15,001-25,000 | 84 | 85 | 79 | 78 | 72 | 16 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 82 | 90 | 86 | 76 | 73 | 12 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 78 | 83 | 82 | 72 | 70 | 12 |
| Over $50,000 | 90 | 92 | 84 | 76 | 74 | 7 |
| High school/less | 75 | 82 | 80 | 70 | 68 | 17 |
| Some college | 88 | 90 | 83 | 78 | 73 | 9 |
| Four yr. coll. | 89 | 92 | 84 | 76 | 73 | 5 |
| Post graduate | 89 | 87 | 84 | 76 | 75 | 7 |

| | Jews | | | Muslims | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Value Education | Enriched Life In USA | Back Social Justice for Others | Pride In Own Culture | Deeply Religious | Committed To Own People, Communities |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total Nation | 84 | 77 | 62 | 85 | 77 | 72 |
| Men | 85 | 77 | 57 | 88 | 78 | 73 |
| Women | 82 | 76 | 57 | 82 | 75 | 72 |
| 18-29 | 71 | 70 | 54 | 90 | 84 | 77 |
| 30-49 | 88 | 78 | 62 | 87 | 78 | 75 |
| 50 and over | 87 | 79 | 60 | 79 | 68 | 67 |
| Blacks | 77 | 69 | 44 | 86 | 76 | 77 |
| Latino | 71 | 63 | 42 | 84 | 77 | 71 |
| Asian | 76 | 78 | 65 | 82 | 87 | 63 |
| Whites | 86 | 79 | 63 | 84 | 76 | 72 |
| White Cath. | 90 | 82 | 68 | 88 | 77 | 75 |
| White Prot. | 86 | 79 | 61 | 83 | 75 | 71 |
| Under $15,000 | 72 | 67 | 49 | 75 | 64 | 63 |
| $15001,25,000 | 82 | 72 | 50 | 88 | 77 | 77 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 86 | 76 | 64 | 86 | 80 | 75 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 84 | 75 | 55 | 84 | 76 | 68 |
| Over $50,000 | 90 | 85 | 69 | 90 | 85 | 79 |
| High school/less | 78 | 69 | 50 | 82 | 75 | 70 |
| Some college | 89 | 81 | 70 | 84 | 79 | 75 |
| Four yr. coll. | 91 | 87 | 69 | 89 | 77 | 76 |
| Post graduate | 91 | 92 | 74 | 91 | 80 | -- |

**POSITIVE STEREOTYPES OF MINORITIES**
**(Asked of all but minority asked about)**

| | Made significant contributions to American life | Catholics: Compassionate and generous to the poor and disadvantaged | Very Devout |
|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % |
| Total Nation | 74 | 67 | 57 |
| Men | 78 | 69 | 55 |
| Women | 71 | 65 | 58 |
| 18-29 | 70 | 68 | 56 |
| 30-49 | 77 | 65 | 57 |
| 50 and over | 73 | 68 | 58 |
| Blacks | 59 | 62 | 51 |
| Latino | 69 | 73 | 55 |
| Asian | 80 | 68 | 59 |
| Whites | 77 | 68 | 58 |
| White Cath. | XX | XX | XX |
| White Prot. | 77 | 69 | 62 |
| Under $15,000 | 61 | 64 | 55 |
| $15001,25,000 | 74 | 71 | 60 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 75 | 69 | 63 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 73 | 58 | 53 |
| Over $50,000 | 83 | 73 | 57 |
| High school/less | 67 | 66 | 61 |
| Some college | 80 | 68 | 61 |
| Four yr. coll. | 81 | 71 | 47 |
| Post graduate | 92 | 66 | 40 |

## POSITIVE INTERACTIONS

| | Whites Say Contact with Blacks Is As "A Good Friend" | Blacks Say Contact with Whites is As "A Good Friend" |
|---|---|---|
| | % | % |
| Total Nation | 73 | 78 |
| Men | 74 | 82 |
| Women | 71 | 78 |
| 18-29 | 78 | 75 |
| 30-49 | 71 | 88 |
| 50 and over | 70 | 86 |
| Under $15,000 | 77 | 75 |
| $15,001-25,000 | 76 | 74 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 75 | 81 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 77 | 81 |
| Over $50,000 | 68 | 87 |
| High school/less | 76 | 79 |
| Some college | 73 | 78 |
| Four yr. coll. | 63 | 84 |
| Post graduate | 71 | 85 |

## CULTURAL DIVERSITY

| | Importance of people of different groups understanding lifestyles, tastes and cultural contributions of each other's group. | | | Desirability of schools teaching all students about the racial, cultural, and ethnic groups that make up America today | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Important | | | Important | | |
| | Total | Very | Somewhat | Total | Very | Somewhat |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total Nation | 92 | 66 | 25 | 89 | 58 | 31 |
| Men | 90 | 64 | 26 | 86 | 56 | 32 |
| Women | 93 | 69 | 24 | 91 | 64 | 27 |
| 18-29 | 94 | 69 | 25 | 93 | 65 | 28 |
| 30-49 | 94 | 70 | 24 | 90 | 61 | 29 |
| 50 and over | 87 | 61 | 26 | 87 | 56 | 31 |
| Blacks | 95 | 81 | 14 | 90 | 74 | 16 |
| Latino | 96 | 81 | 15 | 90 | 65 | 25 |
| Asian | 86 | 73 | 13 | 91 | 67 | 24 |
| Whites | 91 | 62 | 29 | 88 | 54 | 32 |
| White Cath. | 94 | 63 | 31 | 91 | 54 | 37 |
| White Prot. | 90 | 61 | 29 | 87 | 51 | 36 |
| Under $15,000 | 85 | 60 | 25 | 84 | 53 | 21 |
| $15001-$25,000 | 96 | 70 | 26 | 91 | 58 | 33 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 95 | 65 | 30 | 92 | 62 | 30 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 89 | 67 | 32 | 88 | 55 | 33 |
| Over $50,000 | 95 | 70 | 25 | 90 | 59 | 31 |
| High school/less | 89 | 61 | 28 | 87 | 65 | 22 |
| Some college | 96 | 73 | 23 | 92 | 65 | 27 |
| Four yr. coll. | 93 | 73 | 20 | 89 | 63 | 26 |
| Post graduate | 94 | 73 | 21 | 95 | 67 | 28 |



BEST COPY AVAILABLE

**ARE THE RACES READY TO JOIN RANKS AND FIGHT COMMON PROBLEMS?**
**(Percent of each group willing to join with group has least in common with)**

| Willing to Get Together On: | PROBLEMS: Get Drug Pushers Out of Neighborhood | Help Schools Teach Kids Who Need to Learn to Succeed | Help Kids Have Access to Constructive After-School Activities |
|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % |
| Total Nation | 95 | 96 | 94 |
| Men | 95 | 97 | 92 |
| Women | 94 | 95 | 96 |
| 18-29 | 97 | 100 | 100 |
| 30-49 | 97 | 98 | 95 |
| 50 and over | 91 | 91 | 89 |
| Blacks | 97 | 96 | 93 |
| Latino | 98 | 98 | 98 |
| Asian | 95 | 88 | 88 |
| Whites | 95 | 94 | 94 |
| White Cath | 96 | 97 | 90 |
| White Prot. | 95 | 97 | 96 |
| Under $15,000 | 92 | 100 | 96 |
| $15001,25,000 | 99 | 99 | 96 |
| $25,001-35,000 | 96 | 95 | 93 |
| $35,001-50,000 | 95 | 97 | 96 |
| Over $50,000 | 94 | 94 | 92 |
| High school/less | 93 | 96 | 94 |
| Some college | 96 | 100 | 96 |
| Four yr. coll. | 94 | 94 | 91 |
| Post graduate | 94 | 97 | 95 |

**Note: On five other questions similar to these three, the results were almost identically unanimous, not only overall, but among every key subgroup. These three questions are cited as illustrative of the pattern that ran uniformly across the boards.**

## POSITIVE STEREOTYPES OF MINORITIES
(Asked of all but minority asked about)

| | Total (Excluding Group Asked About) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total Whites | Nation | East | Midwest | South | West |
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| **Asian-Americans:** | | | | | |
| Place high values on intellectual and professional achievement | 81 | 86 | 80 | 75 | 86 |
| Have strong family ties and honor and respect their elders | 86 | 88 | 87 | 81 | 88 |
| **Latino-Americans:** | | | | | |
| Take great pride in their culture | 81 | 87 | 79 | 77 | 85 |
| Work hard to achieve a better life | 73 | 69 | 73 | 71 | 83 |
| Have deep religious and family ties | 71 | 73 | 67 | 65 | 83 |
| **African-Americans:** | | | | | |
| Have less native intelligence | 12 | 10 | 12 | 16 | 10 |
| **Jews:** | | | | | |
| Place a high value on education and achievement | 84 | 90 | 83 | 79 | 83 |
| Have enriched public and intellectual life in this country | 77 | 76 | 79 | 75 | 78 |
| Charitable and supportive of social justice for others | 59 | 63 | 55 | 59 | 60 |
| **Muslims:** | | | | | |
| Take pride in their cultural and religious heritage | 85 | 82 | 87 | 80 | 86 |
| Deeply religious people who follow a strict code of personal behavior | 77 | 78 | 79 | 73 | 77 |
| Strongly committed to the welfare of their own people and communities | 73 | 73 | 77 | 69 | 73 |
| **Catholics:** | | | | | |
| Have made a significant contribution to American life | 74 | 77 | 75 | 70 | 80 |
| Compassionate and generous to the poor and disadvantaged | 67 | 67 | 71 | 63 | 70 |
| Very devout | 57 | 67 | 59 | 55 | 58 |



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## POSITIVE INTERACTIONS

| | Total Nation % | East % | Midwest % | South % | West % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Whites report their point of contact with African-Americans is as "a good friend" . . | 73 | 71 | 77 | 78 | 68 |
| African-Americans report their point of contact with whites is "as a good friend" . | 78 | 77 | 77 | 79 | 76 |

## CULTURAL DIVERSITY

| | Total Nation % | East % | Midwest % | South % | West % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Importance of people from different groups learning to understand lifestyles, tastes, and cultural contributions of each other's group | | | | | |
| Very important . . . . . | 67 | 69 | 66 | 63 | 68 |
| Somewhat important . . . . . | 25 | 23 | 26 | 27 | 26 |
| Total Important . . . . . | 92 | 92 | 92 | 90 | 94 |
| Desirability of schools teaching all students about the racial, cultural, and ethnic groups that make up America today | | | | | |
| Very important . . . . . | 57 | 61 | 54 | 57 | 58 |
| Somewhat important . . . . . | 31 | 29 | 37 | 28 | 31 |
| Total important . . . . . | 88 | 90 | 91 | 85 | 89 |

## ARE THE RACES READY TO JOIN RANKS AND FIGHT COMMON PROBLEMS

| Willing to: | Total Nation % | East % | Midwest % | South % | West % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sit down and work out ways to get drug pushers out of the neighborhood | 95 | 98 | 94 | 94 | 93 |
| Help the schools teach kids what they really need to learn | 96 | 96 | 96 | 97 | 95 |
| Help disadvantaged children have access to constructive after-school activities | 94 | 95 | 91 | 96 | 93 |
| Help schools teach understanding and respect about the cultural heritage of all groups in school | 88 | 85 | 87 | 88 | 90 |
| Help feed, house, and clothe homeless people | 91 | 94 | 87 | 93 | 89 |
| Protect each others' kids from gangs and violence | 96 | 97 | 95 | 95 | 95 |
| Find solutions to ease racial, religious, and ethnic tensions | 95 | 98 | 95 | 94 | 95 |
| Help start child care facilities for single parents | 85 | 90 | 73 | 91 | 86 |

## NEGATIVE STEREOTYPES OF MINORITIES
(Asked of all but group being asked about)

Total Whites For Credit Loans and Mortgages

| | Total(Excluding Group Asked About) | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Nation % | East % | Midwest % | South % | West % |
| **Asian-Americans:** | | | | | |
| Unscrupulous, crafty, devious in business | 30 | 28 | 29 | 32 | 32 |
| Wary, suspicious, and unfriendly toward non-Asians | 33 | 34 | 32 | 34 | 30 |
| **Latino-Americans:** | | | | | |
| Tend to have bigger families than they are able to support | 50 | 45 | 44 | 52 | 62 |
| Lack ambition and drive to succeed | 21 | 20 | 19 | 24 | 22 |
| **African-Americans:** | | | | | |
| Want to live on welfare | 22 | 18 | 18 | 31 | 18 |
| Even if given a chance, aren't capable of getting ahead | 14 | 16 | 12 | 16 | 14 |
| **Jews:** | | | | | |
| When it comes to choosing between people and money, they will choose money | 31 | 33 | 30 | 36 | 26 |
| Have too much control over business and the media | 26 | 32 | 28 | 22 | 23 |
| **Muslims:** | | | | | |
| Belong to a religion that condones or supports terrorism | 46 | 38 | 42 | 45 | 40 |
| Are anti-Western and anti-American | 45 | 46 | 47 | 44 | 49 |
| **Catholics:** | | | | | |
| Narrow-minded because they are too much controlled by their church | 38 | 37 | 39 | 36 | 42 |
| Want to impose their own ideas of morality on the larger society | 55 | 51 | 56 | 50 | 64 |

KEY REGIONAL BREAKDOWNS

STEREOTYPE OF WHITES BY RACIAL MINORITIES

| | Total Non-Whites | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Positive | Nation | East | Midwest | South | West |
| | % | % | % | % | % |
| Have a Long History of High Achievement | | | | | |
| Agree | 76 | 71 | 73 | 81 | 74 |
| Disagree | 18 | 24 | 18 | 13 | 21 |
| Not sure | 6 | 5 | 9 | 6 | 5 |
| Founded the Most Democratic Society on the Face of the Earth | | | | | |
| Agree | 53 | 49 | 52 | 56 | 53 |
| Disagree | 34 | 38 | 34 | 31 | 35 |
| Not sure | 13 | 13 | 14 | 13 | 12 |
| Have Learned to Live Side by Side with People of Different Ethnic and Religious Backgrounds | | | | | |
| Agree | 51 | 43 | 46 | 50 | 58 |
| Disagree | 41 | 49 | 50 | 41 | 32 |
| Not sure | 8 | 8 | 4 | 9 | 10 |
| Negative | | | | | |
| Insensitive to Other People and Have a Long History of Bigotry and Prejudice | | | | | |
| Agree | 66 | 62 | 70 | 67 | 65 |
| Disagree | 24 | 29 | 23 | 21 | 24 |
| Not sure | 10 | 9 | 7 | 12 | 11 |
| Believe They Are Superior and Can Boss Other People Around | | | | | |
| Agree | 65 | 68 | 68 | 68 | 56 |
| Disagree | 29 | 29 | 27 | 27 | 32 |
| Not sure | 6 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 12 |
| Control Power and Wealth in America and Do Not Want to Share It with Non-Whites | | | | | |
| Agree | 61 | 68 | 67 | 65 | 49 |
| Disagree | 31 | 28 | 24 | 29 | 40 |
| Not sure | 8 | 4 | 9 | 6 | 11 |

## WHITE PERCEPTION OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR MINORITIES COMPARED WITH WHITES BY REGION

| | Total Whites | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Nation | East | Midwest | South | West |
| **For Credit Loans and Mortgages** | % | % | % | % | % |
| Equal for African-Americans | 51 | 48 | 51 | 58 | 46 |
| Not equal | 33 | 35 | 34 | 28 | 37 |
| Equal for Latinos | 46 | 45 | 43 | 52 | 43 |
| Not equal | 31 | 31 | 32 | 27 | 35 |
| Equal for Asians | 54 | 59 | 51 | 56 | 52 |
| Not equal | 24 | 20 | 25 | 24 | 26 |
| **Promotion to Managerial Positions** | | | | | |
| Equal for African-Americans | 50 | 49 | 48 | 55 | 48 |
| Not equal | 44 | 43 | 47 | 41 | 45 |
| Equal for Latino-Americans | 44 | 45 | 40 | 48 | 42 |
| Not equal | 46 | 42 | 49 | 42 | 53 |
| Equal for Asian-Americans | 53 | 57 | 46 | 51 | 50 |
| Not equal | 36 | 33 | 42 | 35 | 43 |
| **Fair Treatment by the Police** | | | | | |
| Equal for African-Americans | 43 | 41 | 46 | 50 | 32 |
| Not equal | 50 | 55 | 49 | 43 | 58 |
| Equal for Latino-Americans | 44 | 41 | 44 | 51 | 35 |
| Not equal | 46 | 42 | 49 | 42 | 53 |
| Equal for Asian-Americans | 52 | 52 | 54 | 57 | 44 |
| Not equal | 36 | 37 | 30 | 30 | 45 |
| **Equal Justice Under the Law** | | | | | |
| Equal for African-Americans | 55 | 47 | 59 | 60 | 52 |
| Not equal | 37 | 44 | 34 | 30 | 42 |
| Equal for Latino-Americans | 55 | 49 | 56 | 61 | 54 |
| Not equal | 36 | 42 | 33 | 29 | 38 |
| Equal for Asian-Americans | 60 | 55 | 63 | 62 | 62 |
| Not equal | 29 | 35 | 28 | 26 | 30 |
| **Fair and Unbiased Media Portrayal** | | | | | |
| Equal for African-Americans | 45 | 38 | 47 | 50 | 42 |
| Not equal | 45 | 49 | 47 | 38 | 49 |
| Equal for Latino-Americans | 43 | 36 | 44 | 52 | 39 |
| Not equal | 45 | 50 | 44 | 37 | 51 |
| Equal for Asian-Americans | 48 | 45 | 44 | 50 | 45 |
| Not equal | 40 | 40 | 42 | 34 | 45 |



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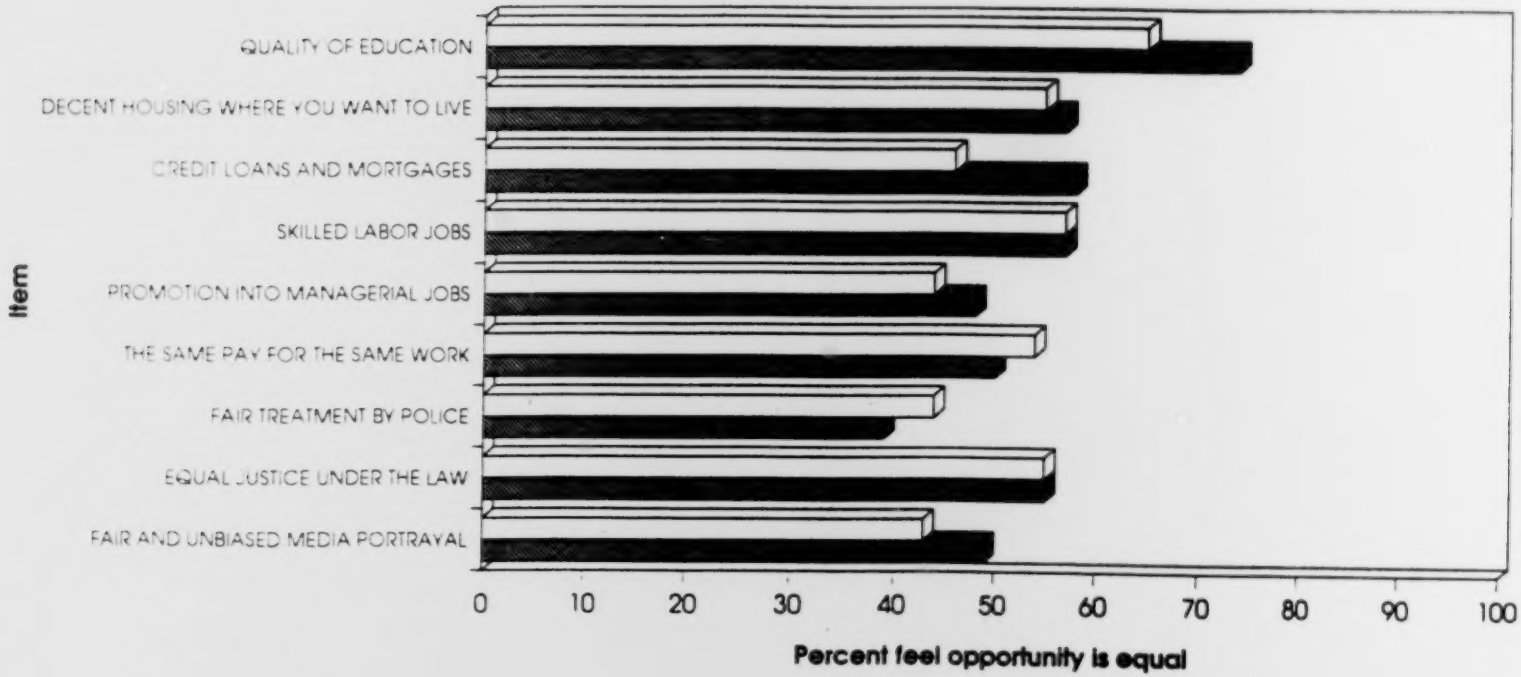
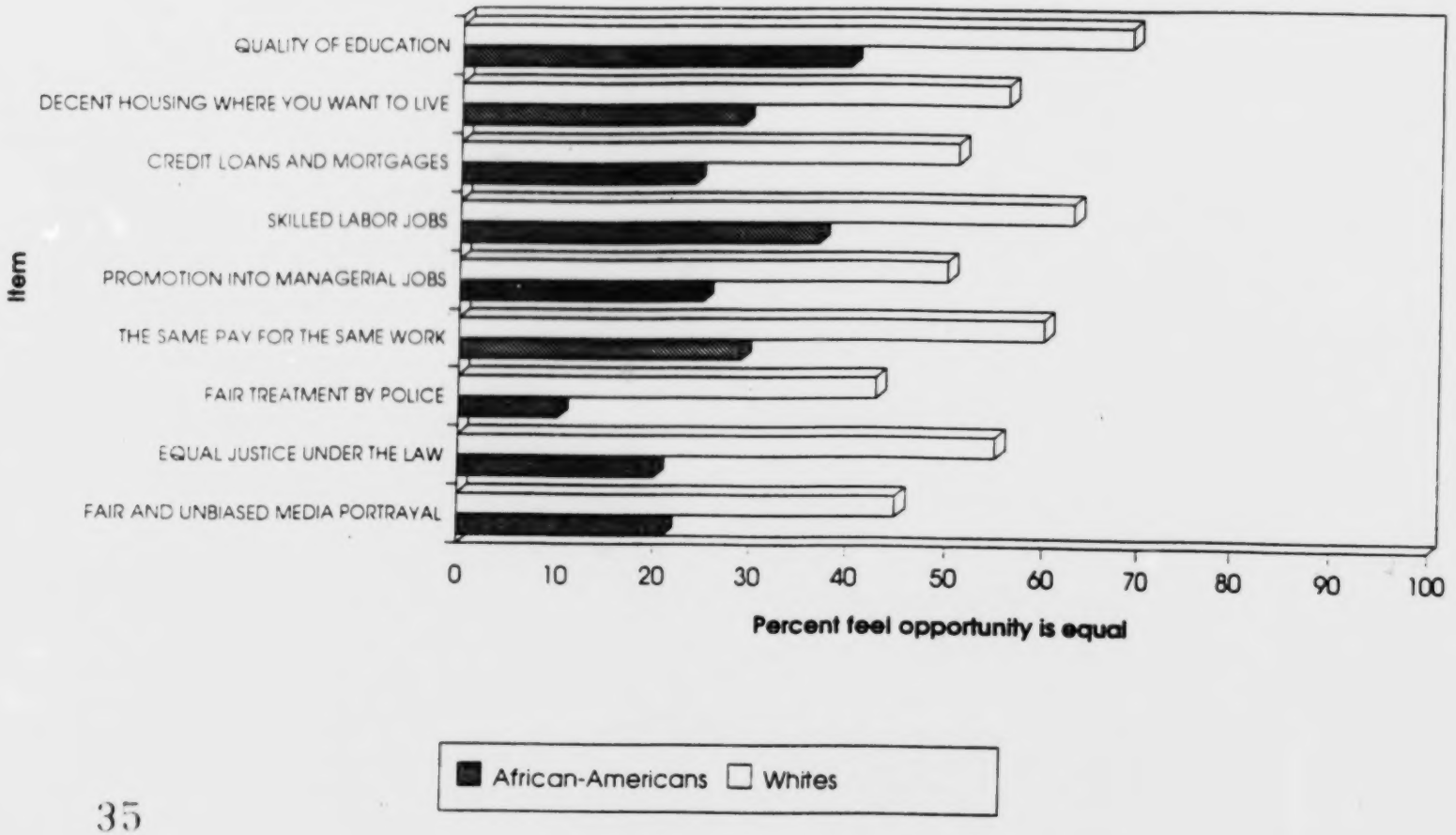
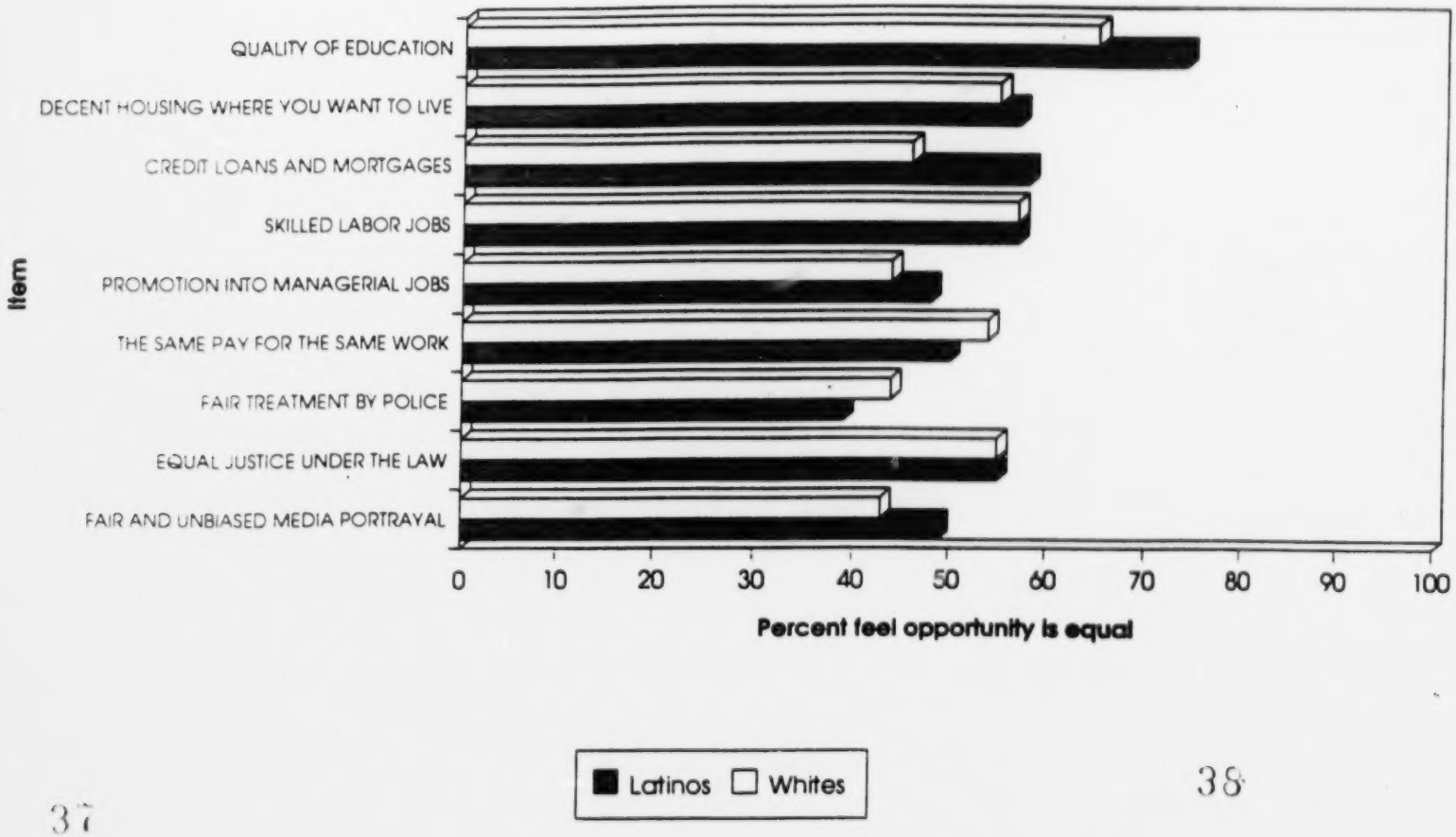
## EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR LATINOS AND WHITES



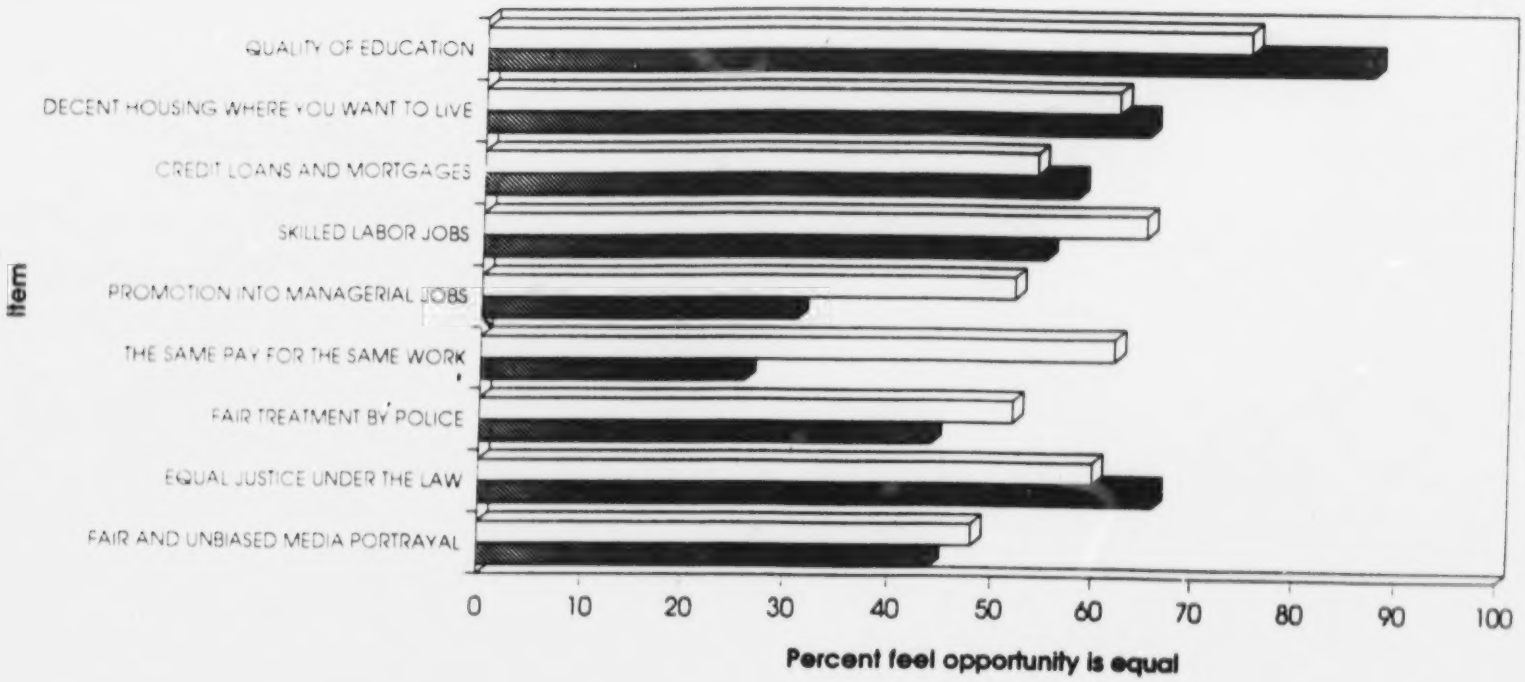
## EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR AFRICAN-AMERICANS AND WHITES



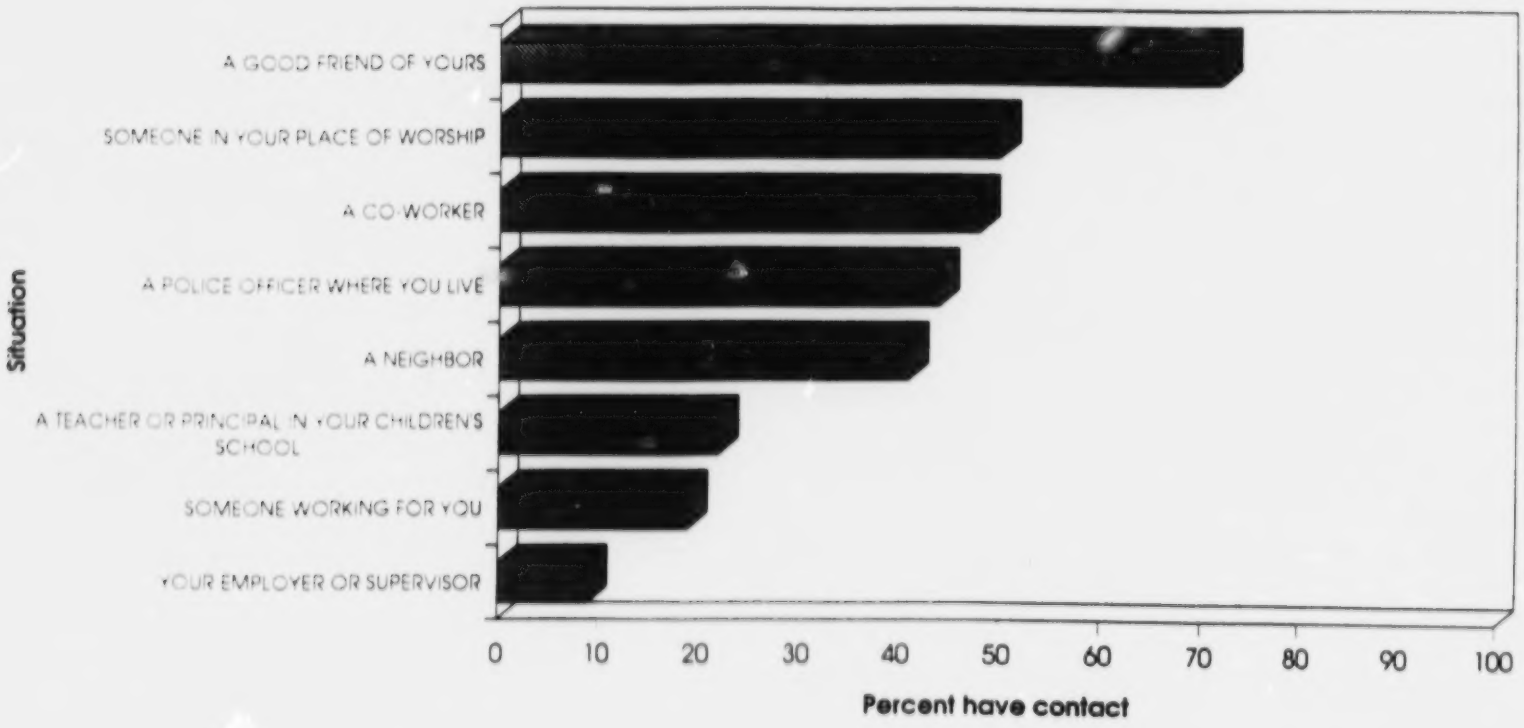
## EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR LATINOS AND WHITES



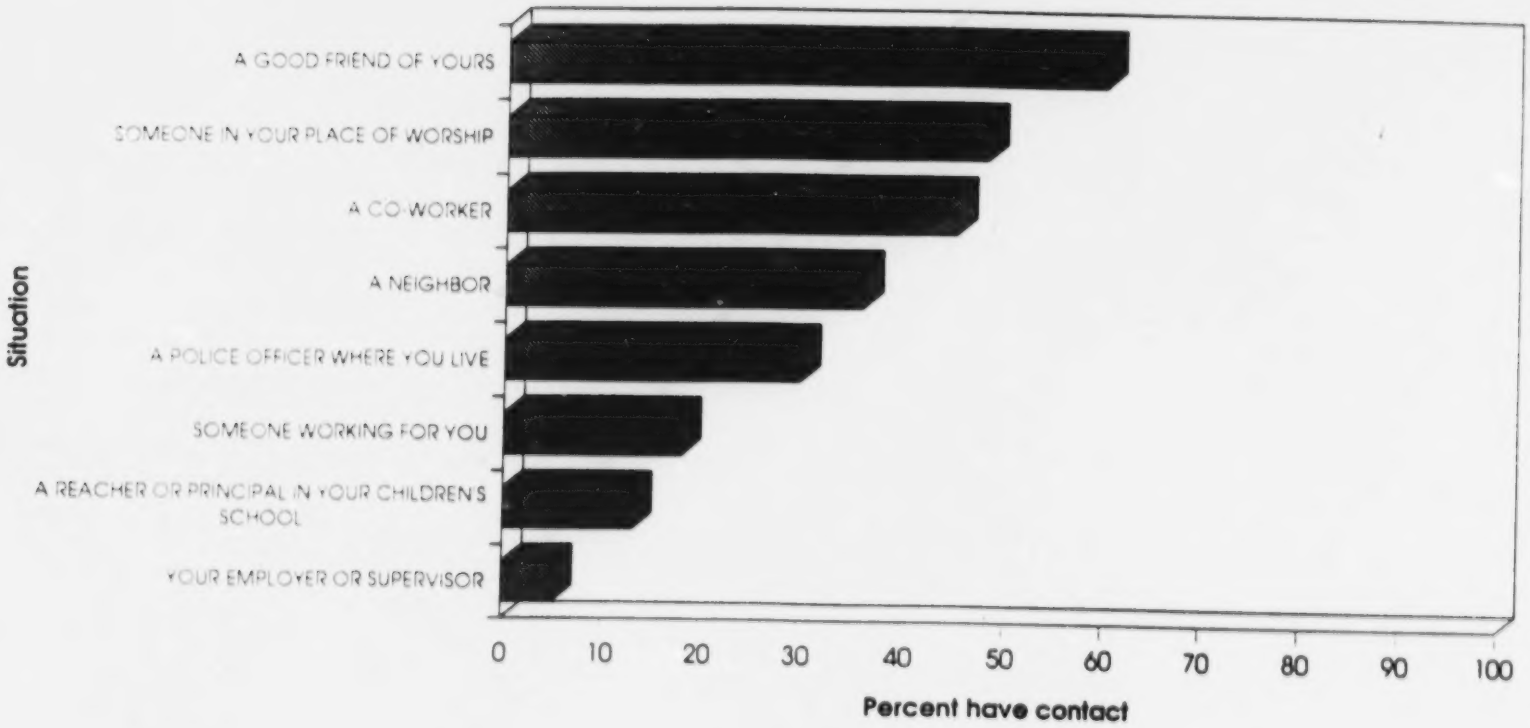
## EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY FOR ASIANS AND WHITES



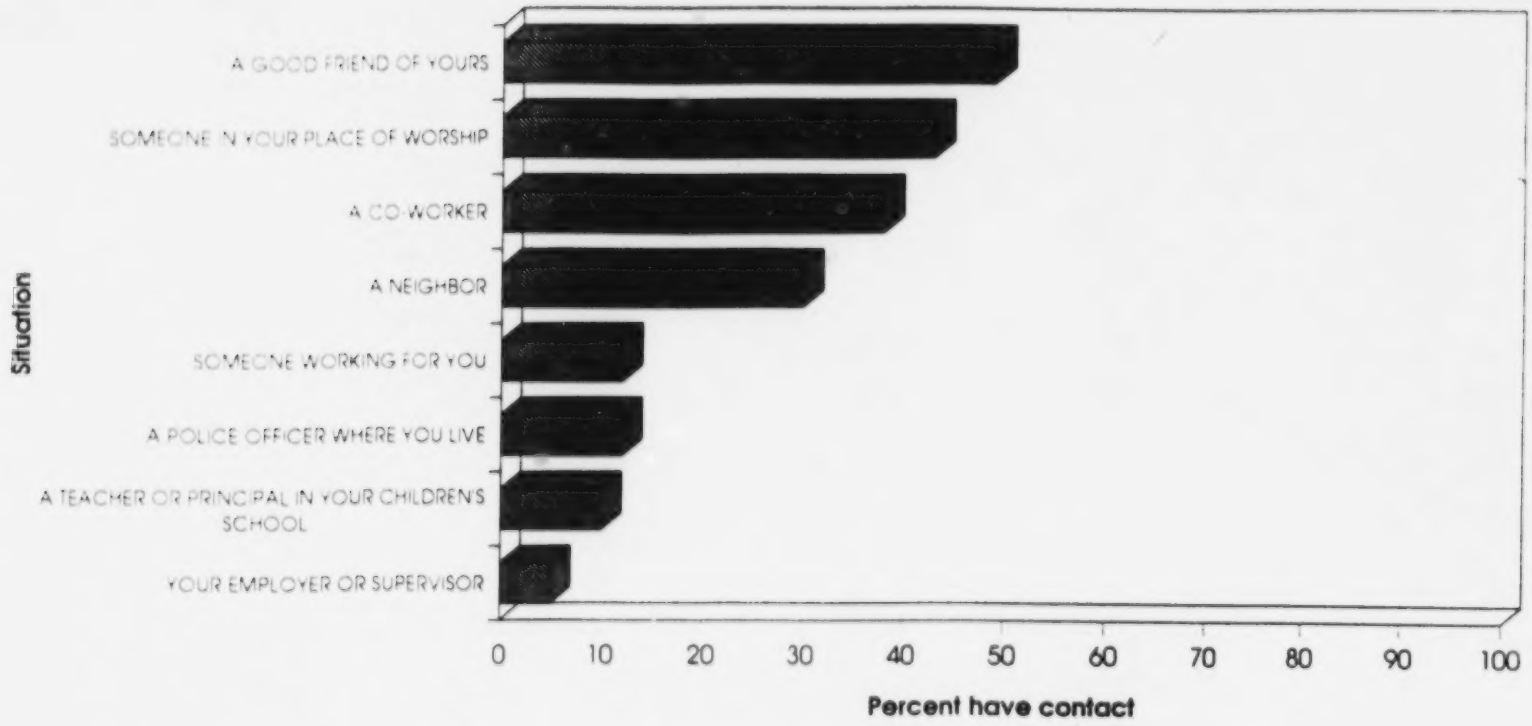
## CONTACT WITH AFRICAN-AMERICANS, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION



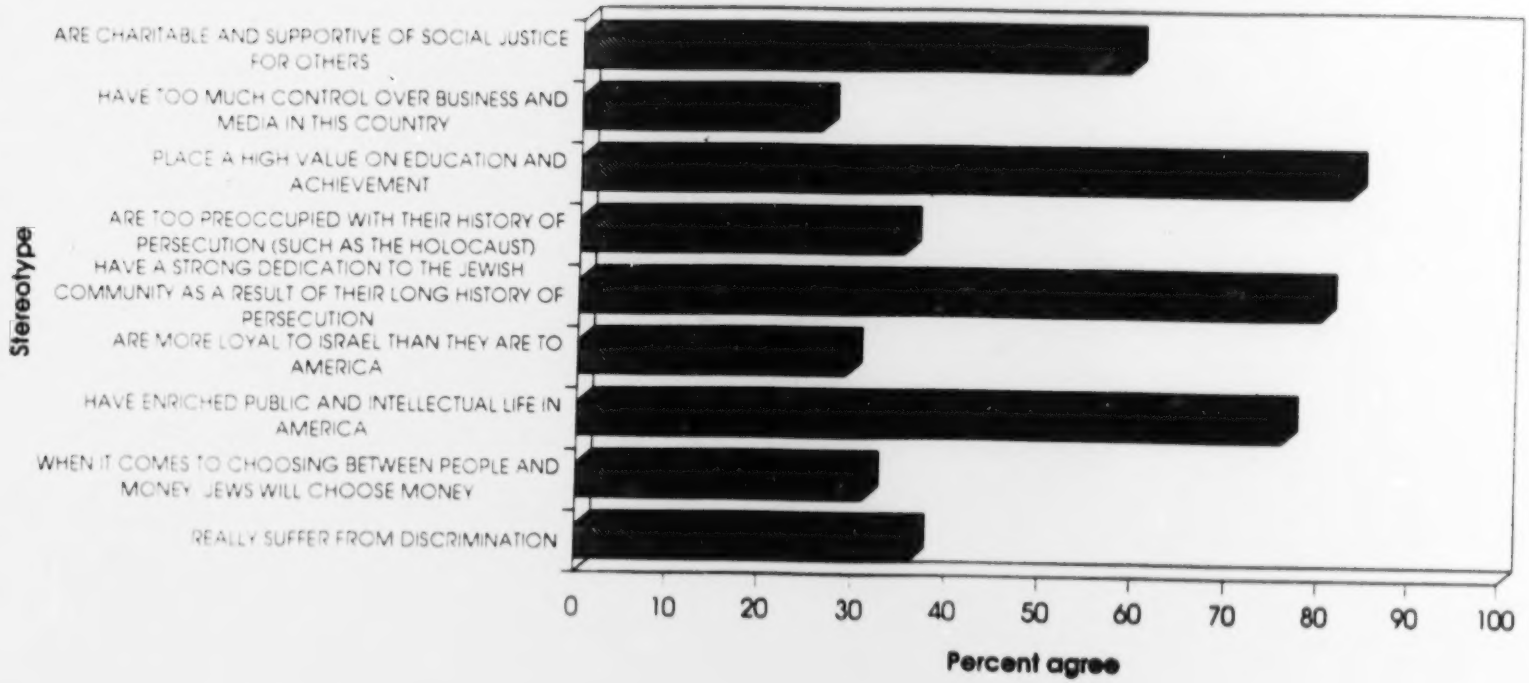
## CONTACT WITH LATINOS, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION



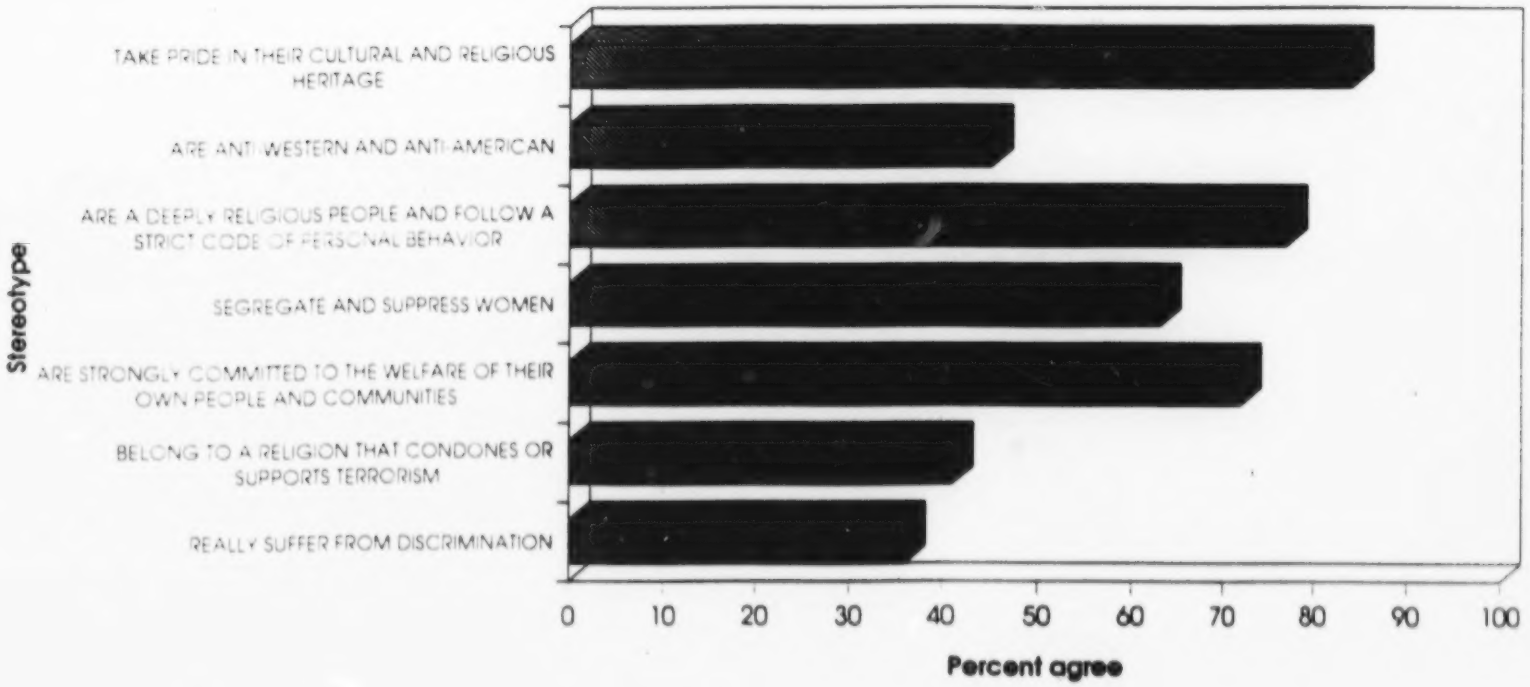
## CONTACT WITH ASIANS, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION



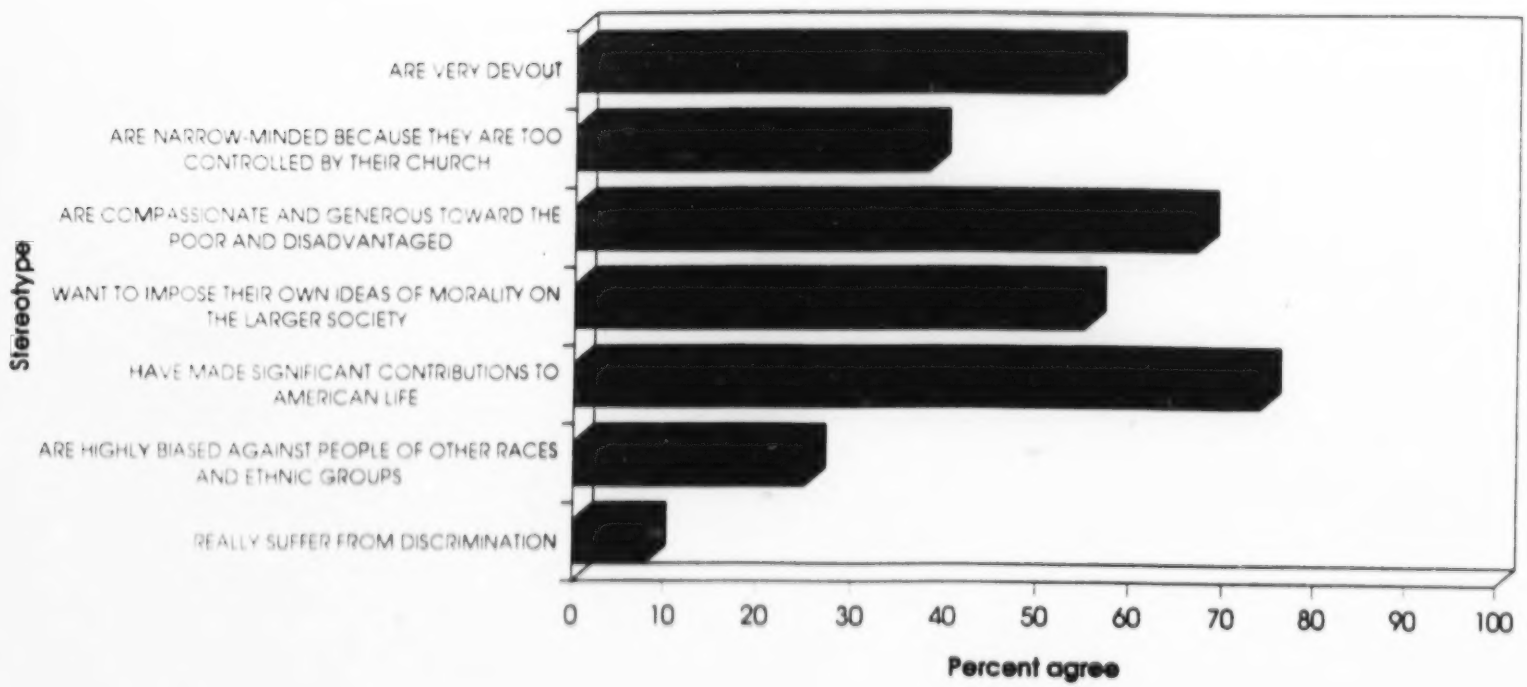
## STEREOTYPES ABOUT JEWS, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION


Stereotype
ARE CHARITABLE AND SUPPORTIVE OF SOCIAL JUSTICE FOR OTHERS
HAVE TOO MUCH CONTROL OVER BUSINESS AND MEDIA IN THIS COUNTRY
PLACE A HIGH VALUE ON EDUCATION AND ACHIEVEMENT
ARE TOO PREOCCUPIED WITH THEIR HISTORY OF PERSECUTION (SUCH AS THE HOLOCAUST)
HAVE A STRONG DEDICATION TO THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AS A RESULT OF THEIR LONG HISTORY OF PERSECUTION
ARE MORE LOYAL TO ISRAEL THAN THEY ARE TO AMERICA
HAVE ENRICHED PUBLIC AND INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN AMERICA
WHEN IT COMES TO CHOOSING BETWEEN PEOPLE AND MONEY, JEWS WILL CHOOSE MONEY
REALLY SUFFER FROM DISCRIMINATION
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
Percent agree

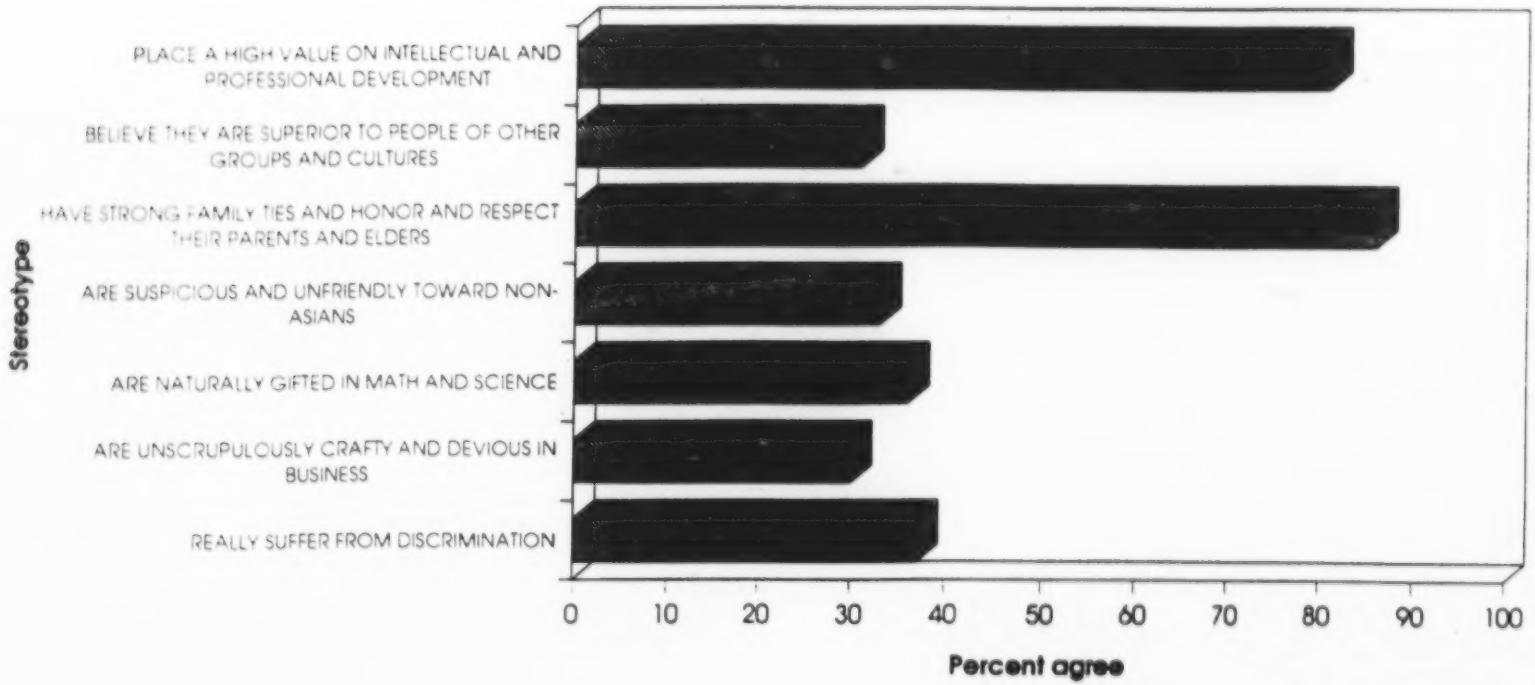
## STEREOTYPES ABOUT MUSLIMS, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION



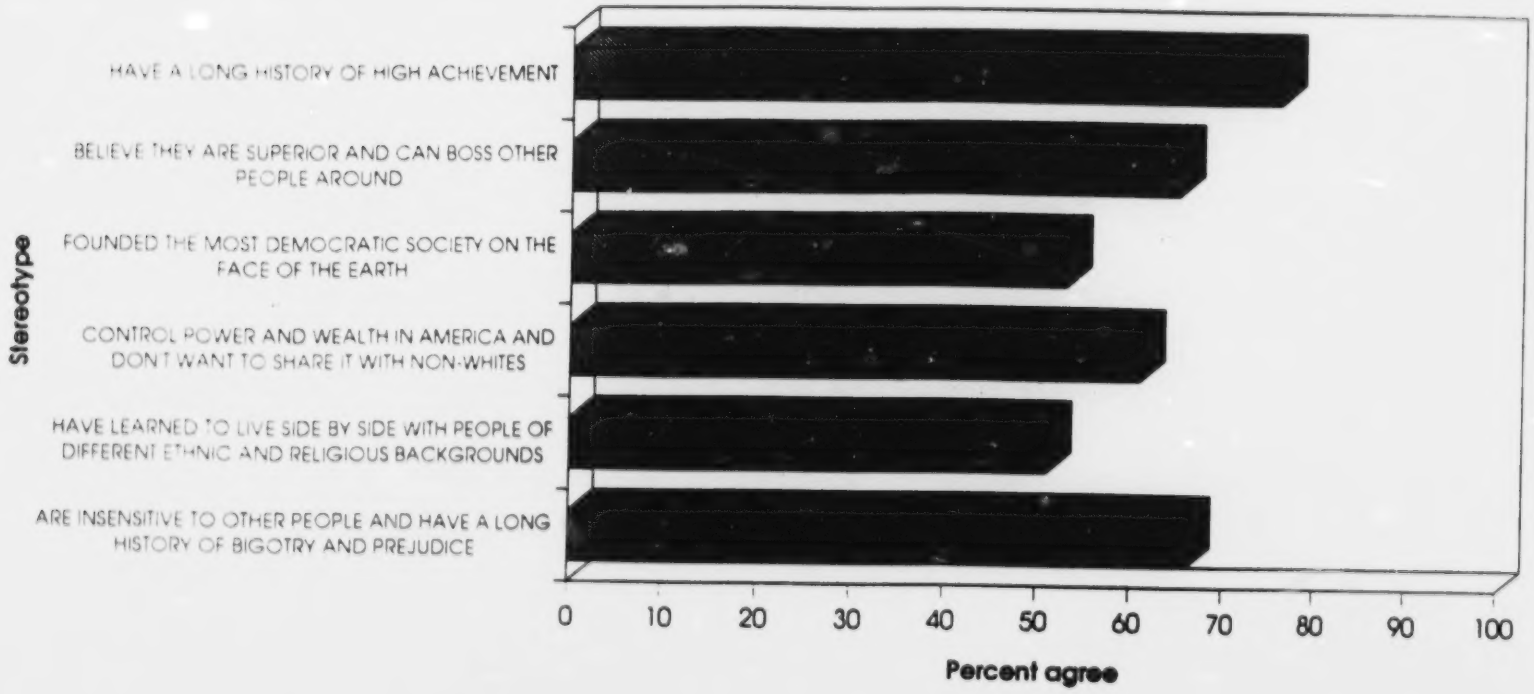
## STEREOTYPES ABOUT CATHOLICS, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION



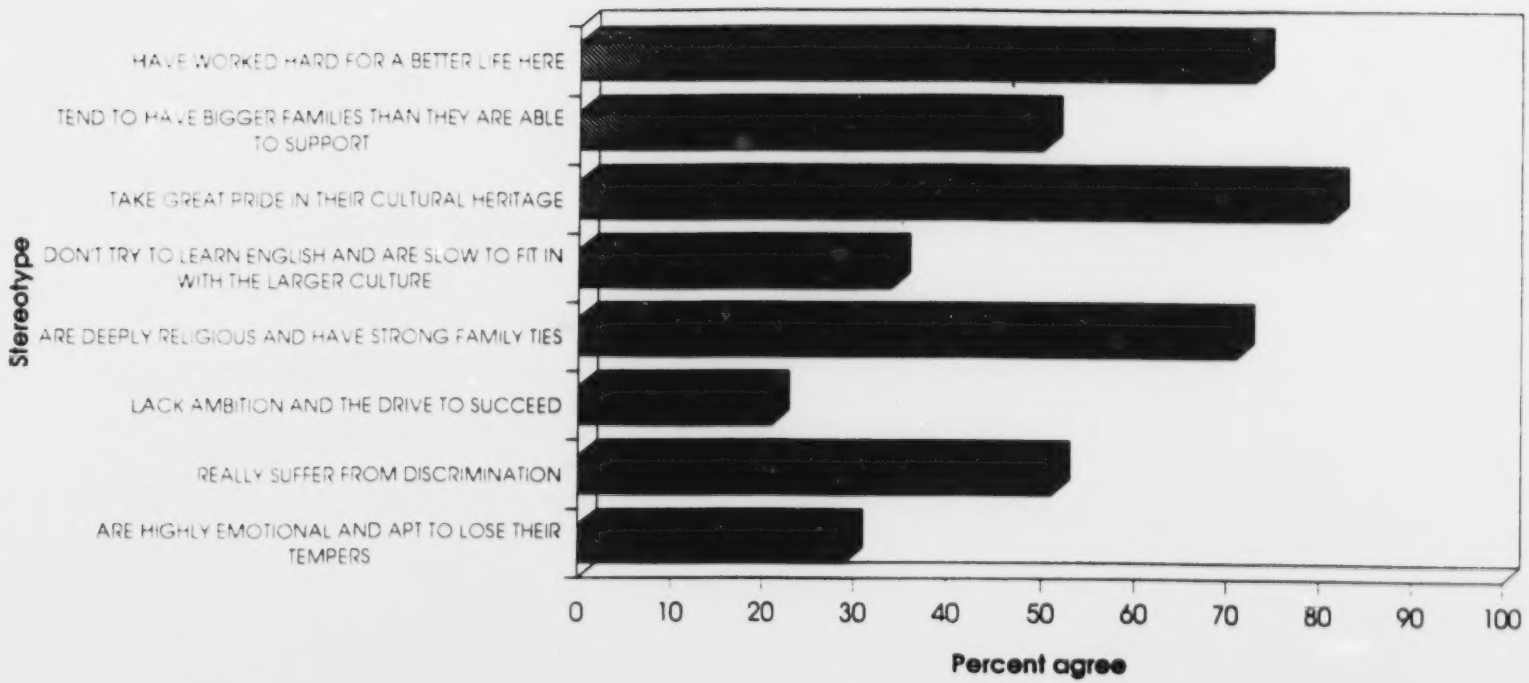
## STEREOTYPES ABOUT ASIANS, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION



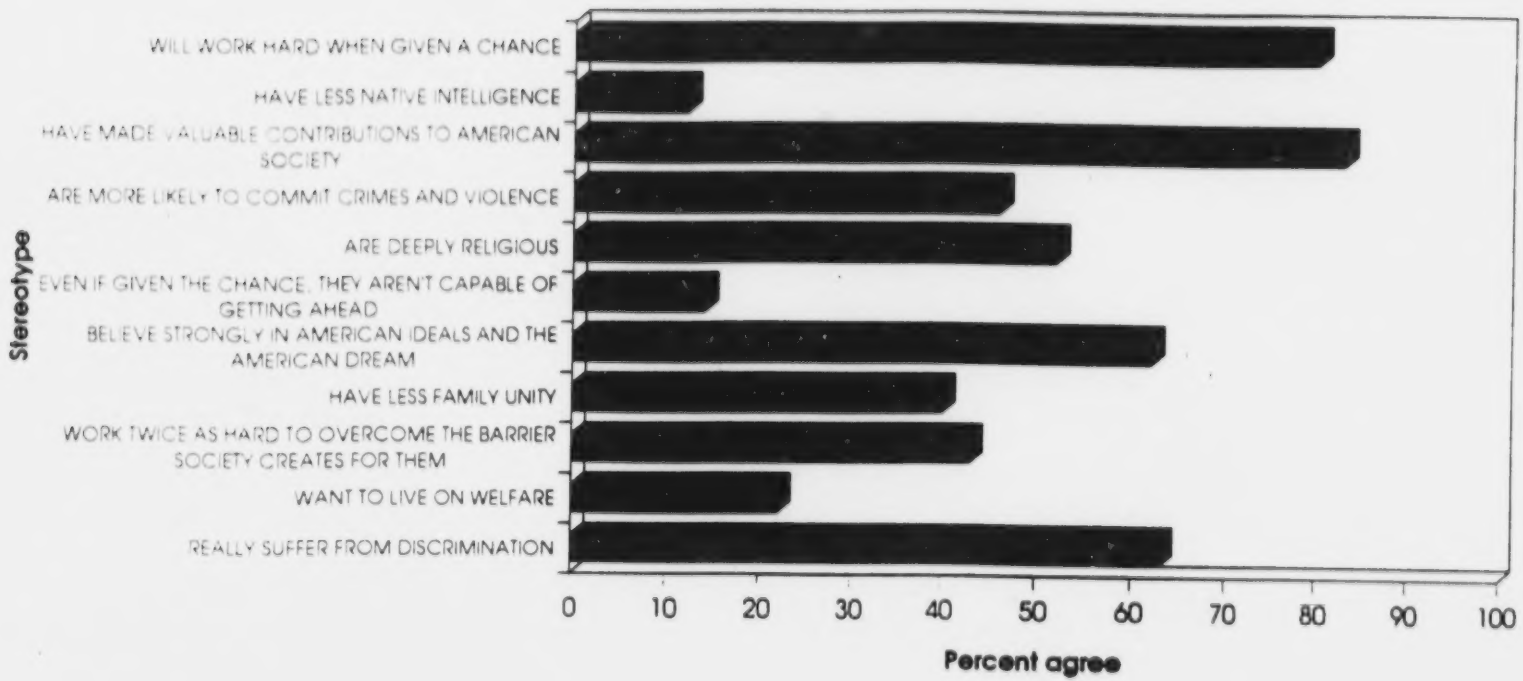
## STEREOTYPES ABOUT WHITES NOT OF LATINO ORIGIN, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION


HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF HIGH ACHIEVEMENT
BELIEVE THEY ARE SUPERIOR AND CAN BOSS OTHER PEOPLE AROUND
FOUNDED THE MOST DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH
CONTROL POWER AND WEALTH IN AMERICA AND DON'T WANT TO SHARE IT WITH NON-WHITES
HAVE LEARNED TO LIVE SIDE BY SIDE WITH PEOPLE OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS
ARE INSENSITIVE TO OTHER PEOPLE AND HAVE A LONG HISTORY OF BIGOTRY AND PREJUDICE
Stereotype
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
Percent agree

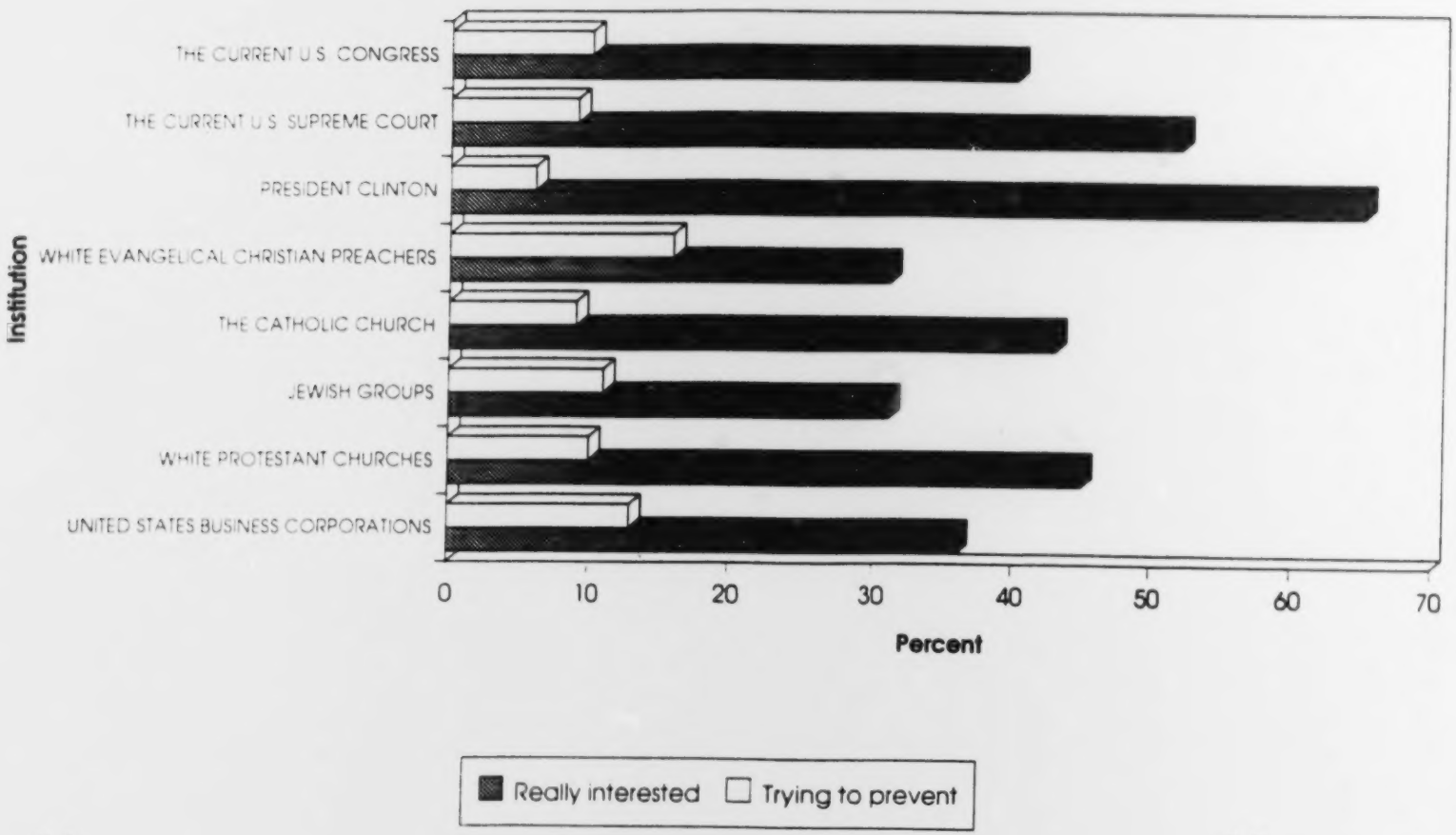
## STEREOTYPES ABOUT LATINOS, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION


HAVE WORKED HARD FOR A BETTER LIFE HERE
TEND TO HAVE BIGGER FAMILIES THAN THEY ARE ABLE TO SUPPORT
TAKE GREAT PRIDE IN THEIR CULTURAL HERITAGE
DON'T TRY TO LEARN ENGLISH AND ARE SLOW TO FIT IN WITH THE LARGER CULTURE
ARE DEEPLY RELIGIOUS AND HAVE STRONG FAMILY TIES
LACK AMBITION AND THE DRIVE TO SUCCEED
REALLY SUFFER FROM DISCRIMINATION
ARE HIGHLY EMOTIONAL AND APT TO LOSE THEIR TEMPERS
Stereotype
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
100
Percent agree

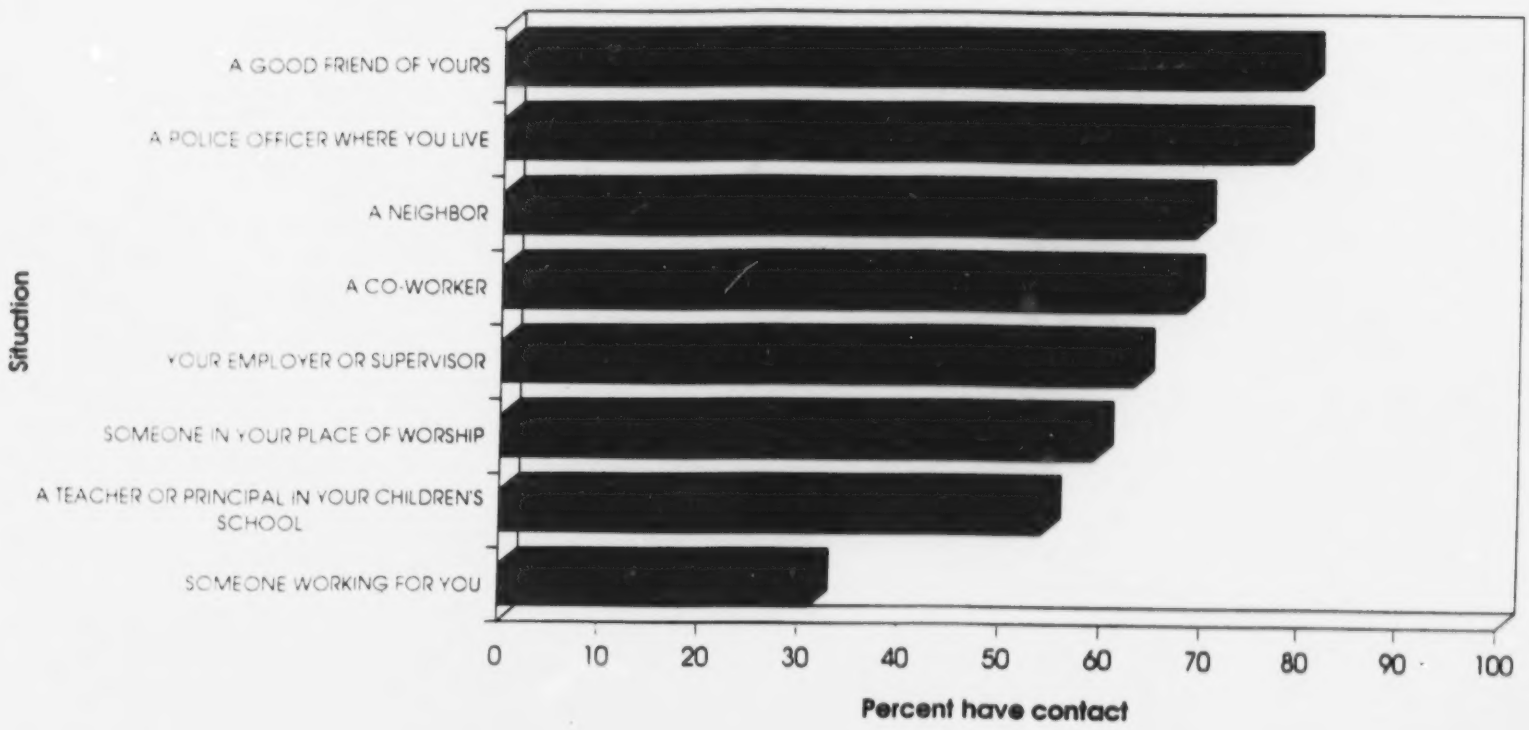
## STEREOTYPES ABOUT AFRICAN-AMERICANS, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION



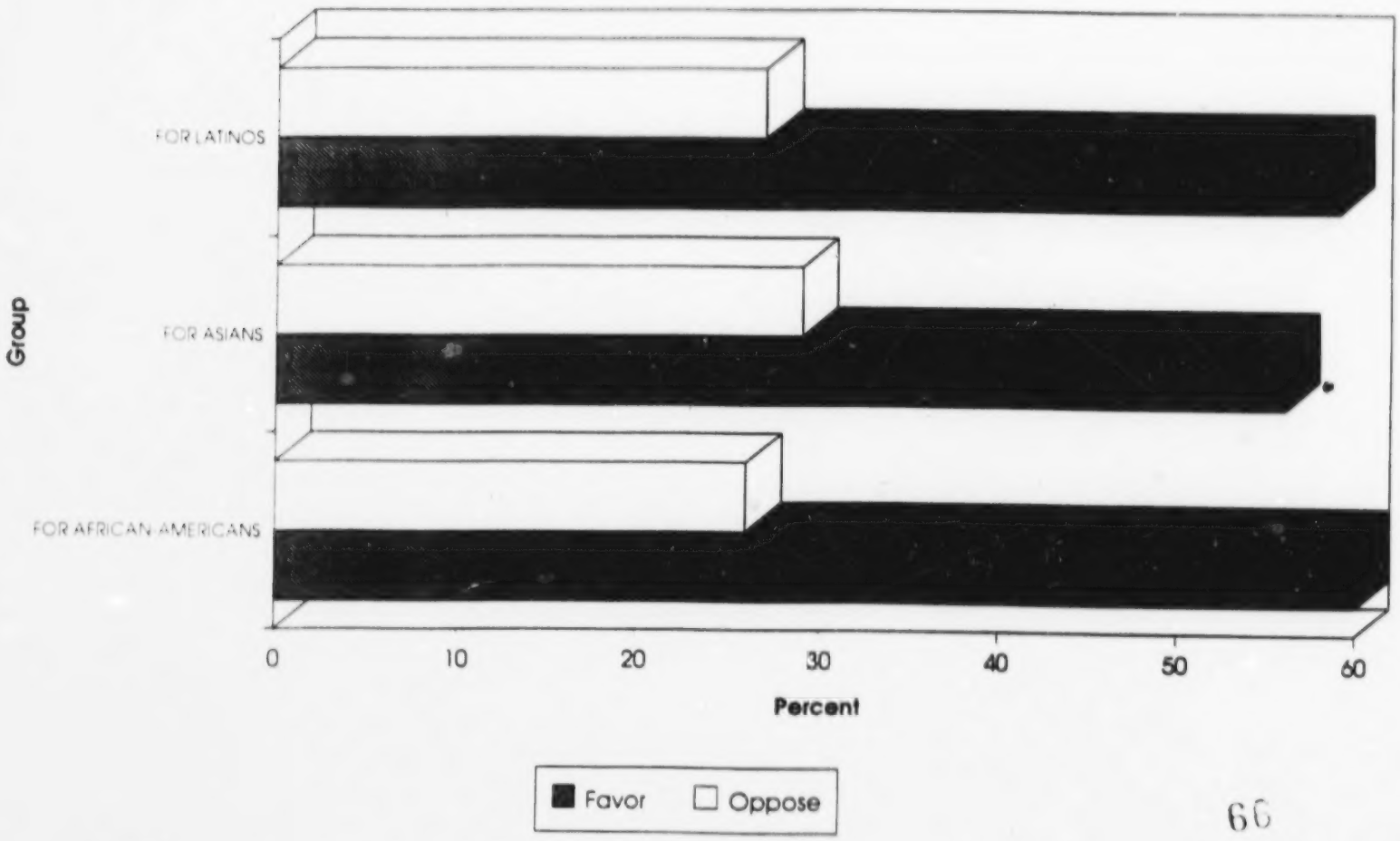
## INSTITUTIONS' INTEREST IN FULL EQUALITY



## CONTACT WITH WHITES NOT OF LATINO ORIGIN, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION



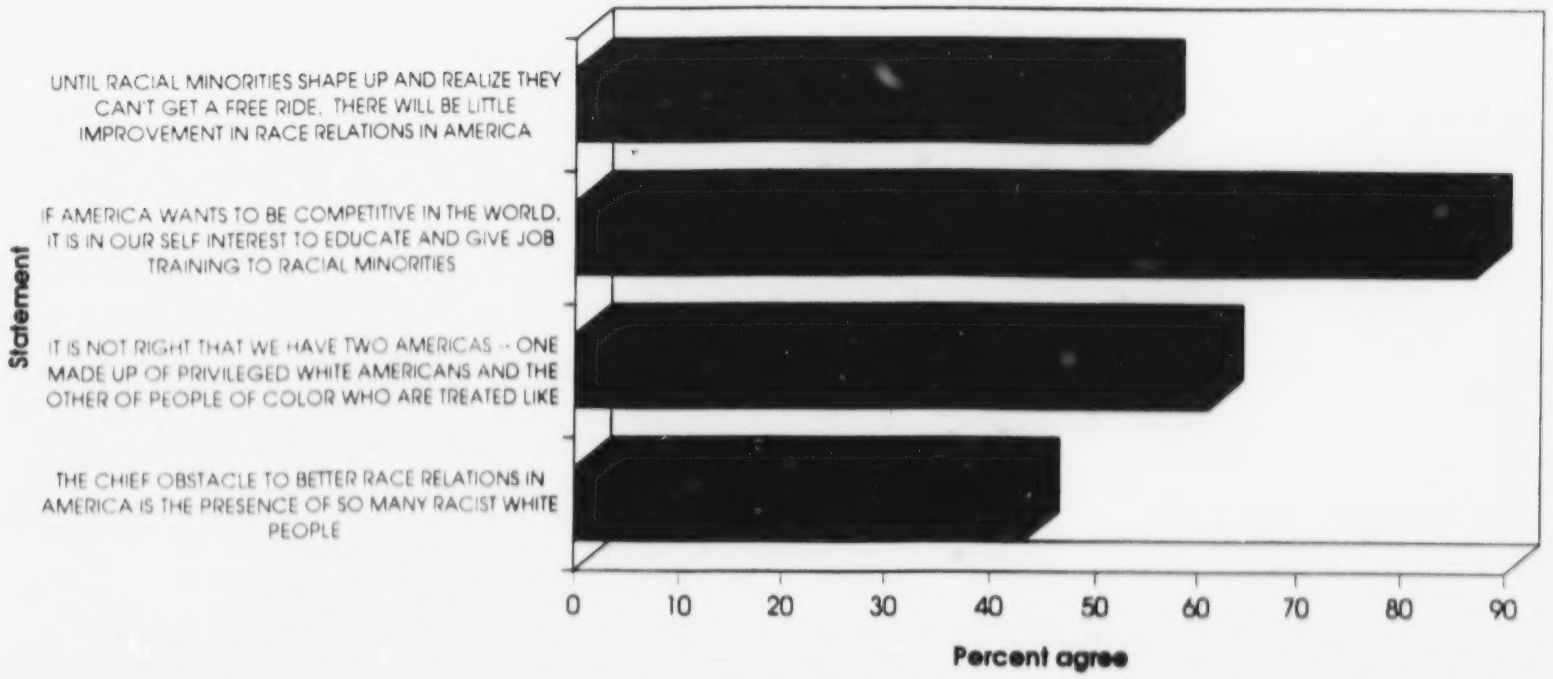
## FAVOR OR OPPOSE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION FOR VARIOUS GROUPS, TOTAL U.S. POPULATION




65

66

## AGREEMENT WITH STATEMENTS ABOUT RACE RELATIONS IN THE U.S., TOTAL U.S. POPULATION


UNTIL RACIAL MINORITIES SHAPE UP AND REALIZE THEY CAN'T GET A FREE RIDE, THERE WILL BE LITTLE IMPROVEMENT IN RACE RELATIONS IN AMERICA
IF AMERICA WANTS TO BE COMPETITIVE IN THE WORLD, IT IS IN OUR SELF INTEREST TO EDUCATE AND GIVE JOB TRAINING TO RACIAL MINORITIES
IT IS NOT RIGHT THAT WE HAVE TWO AMERICAS -- ONE MADE UP OF PRIVILEGED WHITE AMERICANS AND THE OTHER OF PEOPLE OF COLOR WHO ARE TREATED LIKE
THE CHIEF OBSTACLE TO BETTER RACE RELATIONS IN AMERICA IS THE PRESENCE OF SO MANY RACIST WHITE PEOPLE
Statement
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
90
Percent agree

## ALIENATION SCALE